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CHINESE CULT OF MILITARY HEROES

BY

R. F. JOHNSTON, C.B.E., M.A.

(Concluded)

The figure of Kuan Ti looms far larger than life-size through a mist of romance created by the popular drama and by a great work of fiction. Were it not for this, his place in the affections of the Chinese people might long ago have been disputed by another great national hero—Yo Fei (岳 飛). This high-souled patriot lived nèarly a thousand years after Kuan Ti; there has been much less time, therefore, for the growth of legends. As a historical figure, however, it may be questioned whether Yo Fei should be regarded as in any way inferior to Kuan Ti either as soldier or as patriot. He had the misfortune to live during a very unhappy period of Chinese history and in an age of military decadence. How far his talents and virtues would have carried him had he lived in an epoch of progress and expansion it is difficult to say. Certainly he was a man of whom any age and any country might well have been proud.

Yo Fei was born in 1103 and died in 1141. He was a native of the province of Honan. As a boy he was studious, but the natural bent of his mind soon showed itself in the fact that his favourite books were those which discussed warfare and military tactics, such as the *Ping Fa* (兵 法) of Sun Tzŭ (孫 子), described

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by its English translator as "the oldest military treatise in the world."* Like Kuan Ti he was also fond of the *Tso Chuan*, with its vivid descriptions of battles and sieges. As he grew up, Yo Fei became a noted archer, and soon distinguished himself in martial exploits against the Golden Tatars, who were at that time engaged in gradually driving the Sung emperors from the plains of northern China. Had Yo Fei been adequately supported by the Court and Government, it is possible that the invaders would have been expelled from China. Unfortunately, the emperor Kao Tsung (高宗), who praised him to his face, spoke very differently of him behind his back. Some accounts say that the emperor dreaded Yo Fei and was by no means elated at his victories, for he was afraid that the redoubtable general would force the Tatars to send back the emperor Ch'in Tsung (欽宗) whom they had carried off as a prisoner at the beginning of his reign. In that case, Kao Tsung would have had to resign his throne, unless he were prepared to fight against its legitimate occupant. Yo Fei was also unlucky enough to incur the active hostility of the powerful Ch'in Kuei (秦檜), Kao Tsung's trusted minister.† It was this minister who was mainly responsible for the cession of northern China to the Tatars. He may conceivably have thought that it was impossible to drive the Tatars from Chinese soil and that it was therefore useless to continue a ruinous struggle; but it seems far more probable that he knew and understood the emperor's secret wishes and decided for purely selfish reasons to do everything in his power to gratify them. At any rate he appears to have entered into a treasonable agreement with Wu Shu (兀朮), a Tatar prince, to bring about a peace advantageous to the invaders. At his country's expense he obtained the reward he sought—namely, the favour of a worthless monarch and the tangible benefits that usually accompany such favour. Yo Fei earnestly desired to continue the struggle, and stoutly opposed the purchase of peace by a disgraceful cession of territory. At last he recognized that the influences at Court, far more to be dreaded than the armed forces of the enemy, were too strong for him. When compelled to retire and leave the enemy in possession of territory that he felt quite competent to defend, he made bitter complaints that the fruits of his ten years of strenuous labour had been destroyed in a single day. As a vigorous opponent of the peace policy, Yo Fei was regarded by Ch'in Kuei as a dangerous enemy. Hence, when Wu Shu sent urgent representations

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* *Sun Tzŭ on the Art of War*, translated by L. Giles (London, 1910).

† H. A. Giles, *A Chinese Biographical Dictionary*, No. 392.

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to Ch'in Kuei to the effect that so long as Yo Fei remained alive it would be impossible to make peace, Ch'in Kuei did not hesitate to take the hint. He caused charges of treachery to be trumped up against his country's most loyal soldier, and in 1141 succeeded in having him arrested. Shortly afterwards, Ch'in Kuei personally issued a secret order for his summary execution, which was duly carried into effect; and it was falsely reported to the throne that Yo Fei had died a natural death in prison. It is not unlikely, however, that the emperor was well aware of, or shrewdly guessed, the real circumstances. As time went on, the true history of the events that led to Yo Fei's betrayal and death gradually came to be known among the people, and though Ch'in Kuei lived fourteen years longer, loaded with honours and high in the good graces of his sovereign, he has earned an immortality of infamy in his country's annals. The princely rank which was conferred upon him at the time of his death was taken from him fifty years later, and his honorific title was changed to *Miu Ch'ou* (謬醜)—"False and Foul." On the other hand, the name of the warrior whom he defamed and slew has gathered fame and honour with the passing of the centuries, and his tomb, which is situated near the margin of the romantic Western Lake, outside the walls of Hangchow, is a place of pilgrimage for all Chinese who love their country and wish to show their reverence for the memory of a national hero.

The gradual elevation of Yo Fei to a place among China's patron-saints and divinities began in the reign of Hsiao Tsung (孝宗) (1163-1189), who succeeded the weak and vacillating Kao Tsung on the throne of the Sung empire. That ruler restored the honours and titles of which Yo Fei had been deprived after his impeachment. He also ordered a re-burial of his body, and gave a large sum of money to defray the cost of an official funeral. It was further decreed that a temple should be built and dedicated to the hero, and funds were provided for the performance of periodical sacrificial rites. The dead man also received, by imperial warrant, the honorific designation of *Chung Lieh* (忠烈)—"Loyal and High-principled." In 1179 the same emperor conferred upon him the additional title of *Wu Mu* (武穆)—"Heroic and Reverent." A few years later an imperial scroll was presented to Yo Fei's temple, bearing the inscription *Pao Chung* (褒忠)—"In recognition of loyalty." In 1121 he was raised to the posthumous rank of Prince, under the title of *O Wang* (鄂王)—"Prince of Hupeh." This is the title which is inscribed on the slab in front of his tomb. In 1225 the emperor Li Tsung gave him the new title of *Chung Wu* (忠武)—"Loyalty and Martial

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Prowess." These are the characters which, together with the word "Wang" (王), denoting "Prince," appear on his "spirit-tablet" in the Republican "Temple of Military Heroes," of which more hereafter.

It would appear that after the collapse of the Southern Sung dynasty in the last quarter of the thirteenth century, the fame of Yo Fei underwent a temporary eclipse. The Mongol usurpers, who established their short-lived Chinese dynasty on the ruins of the Sung empire, were not likely to be interested in maintaining the reputation of a Chinese patriot who had striven so long and faithfully to save China for the Chinese. His temple fell into decay; and when a restoration took place the work was undertaken not by the Government but by Yo Fei's own lineal descendant in the sixth generation. Some years afterwards, when it had again suffered from neglect, it was restored as a result of the representations of a Buddhist monk of the T'ien-t'ai mountain, named K'o Kuan (天台僧可觀). Soon after the accession of the Ming dynasty (in 1368), the Court—which was now Chinese once more—again began to take an interest in the great Sung soldier, and a further restoration of the temple was effected. In 1517 a Court eunuch named Wang T'ang (王堂) founded a separate shrine in honour of Yo Fei's parents, wife and children. The inscription written for the shrine consisted of the words *I Mên Chung Hsiao* (一門忠孝)—"A Loyal and Dutiful Household." An honorific scroll was presented to the temple by the emperor Tai Tsung (代宗) (1450-1456), and the local officials were instructed to offer the usual Spring and Autumn sacrifices at his tomb. In 1457 the emperor Ying Tsung (英宗) conferred a scroll with the characters *Chung Lieh* (忠烈)—"Loyal and High-principled," and the temple at Hangchow was repaired at State expense. From this time onward it bore the name of the *Chung Lieh* temple (忠烈廟). In 1539 the emperor Chia Ching (世宗) sent a deputy to offer sacrifices at the tomb on his behalf. He also wrote a *chi wên* (祭文)* in which he spoke of Ch'in Kuei as *Kuei Tsei*—"Kuei the Scoundrel (檜賊)."

Very little official notice was taken of Yo Fei during the Manchu period (1644-1911), and this for an interesting reason. The Golden Tatars against whom Yo Fei had fought so strenuously, were kinsmen of the Manchus, and therefore when a Manchu

*A *chi wên* is an oration or address which, after it has been publicly recited at the tomb, is ceremonially committed to the flames: the idea being that it will by this means pass from the material to the immaterial world and so reach the discarnate spirit himself.

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family seated itself on the Chinese throne four centuries after the Golden Tatar rule in China had come to an end, racial pride if not "filial piety" demanded that the Manchu sovereigns should show respect for the memory of their Tatar predecessors on the Dragon throne. This was why the emperor K'ang-hsi carried out a costly restoration of the mausolea of the Tatar emperors (near Peking) which the Ming dynasty, naturally enough, had allowed to fall into decay. And it was similar feelings that prevented the Manchus from going out of their way to honour the memory of the great soldier who had been the deadliest enemy of the Tatar race. Nevertheless, nothing was done to injure his reputation or deprive his spirit of the honours which it already enjoyed. Indeed the Manchu emperor Ch'ien-lung was gracious enough to visit the temple of Yo Fei and make an offering there; and when it was reported to him that the spirit of the hero had spurned the imperial incense by miraculously causing the incense-burner to move away from its place in the central courtyard, the magnanimous emperor did his best to put matters right by explaining that he was not really a direct descendant of the Golden Tatar sovereigns, and by presenting to the temple a scroll of honour bearing the autograph inscription "Great Hero" (大丈夫).

Yo Fei has not developed into a many-sided deity and patron-saint like Kuan Ti, but in one locality, at least, he has become a tutelary spirit or *T'u-ti* (土地).* In the district of Lin-an, near Hangchow, there is a Government school which was built on a piece of land that had formerly belonged to Yo Fei's family. For this reason, he has been nominated the *T'u-ti* of this particular locality.†

The tomb of Yo Fei at Hangchow consists of a large circular mound in front of which stands an upright stone slab bearing the simple inscription *Sung 'Yo O Wang* (宋岳鄂王)—"Yo of the Sung dynasty, Prince of Hupeh." In front of the slab is the usual stone tablet for sacrificial offerings and for the burning of incense. Among other objects of interest in the enclosure are four large characters boldly inscribed on a wall which is otherwise blank. There is a story that when Yo Fei was first charged with treason he rent his clothes and exposed his back, on which those four characters had been indelibly inscribed by his mother when he was a boy. The characters were *Chin chung pao kuo* (盡忠報國)—"Loyal and true to death." Those Chinese visitors to the tomb who are acquainted with this

*See *Lion and Dragon in Northern China*, pp. 155, 371-7, 382.

† H. Doré, *op.cit.* vol. xi, p.896.

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story—and few are not—must be deeply moved when they enter the sacred enclosure and unexpectedly find themselves faced by this simple inscription. It would be difficult to choose a more appropriate epitaph for one of the truest and most loyal champions of China's rights.

According to history and tradition there were four persons mainly concerned in the shameful persecution and murder of Yo Fei. They were Ch'in Kuei himself; Ch'in Kuei's evil-minded wife, Wang Shih (王氏); a general named Chang Chün (張俊); and an official Mo Chu-hsüeh (万俟卨), who pronounced the sentence of imprisonment. The memory of these four has been held up to public execration in a very significant way. Their images, made of iron, have been set up within the walled enclosure which contains the tomb of Yo Fei. On one side are the images of Ch'in Kuei and his wife; on the other those of Chang Chün and Mo Ch'i-hsüeh. They are in a kneeling posture and bound as if awaiting execution. In front of each image is a cage-like structure of stone, which is supposed to represent a prison; and for hundreds of years past untold thousands of pilgrims to the tomb of Yo Fei have considered it a duty and a pleasure to throw slime and filth on the figures of those whom they regard as the treacherous murderers of the national hero. As for Ch'in Kuei, it is not only his iron image that has been subjected to daily insult. His very name has undergone, and still undergoes, one of the worst indignities that could well be imagined; for it is used as the synonym for a spittoon. Of the four images, three were put up by a military officer named Li Lung (李隆) in 1513. The fourth—that of Chang Chün—was added later. Chang Chün was by no means devoid of merit as a soldier; indeed he was one of the four great Chinese generals of his time, the others being Yo Fei himself, Han Shih-chung* and Liu I (劉錡). All these generals, except Chang Chün, have been given their places among the twenty-six great soldiers whose "spirit-tablets" are exposed to public veneration in the (Republican) Temple of Heroes, to be described hereafter. Chang Chün alone has been excluded, and for no other reason than that he joined the "False and Foul" Ch'in Kuei in making a dishonourable peace with his country's foes and bringing ruin and death on one of her noblest sons.

From a remark of Yo Fei's which has been preserved in the records of his life, we may judge that the China of his days suffered from some of the same evils as afflict her now. The emperor Kao Tsung asked him when the empire would return to a

*(韓世忠) See Giles, *op. cit.* No. 625.

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condition of peace and prosperity. Yo Fei's reply was prompt. "When civil officials cease to be money-lovers and military officials are not afraid to die."

As Kuan Ti was specially venerated by the late Manchu dynasty, it would not have been surprising if the victorious revolutionaries had decided to treat that divinity with cold disdain and to abolish the official rites connected with his cult. The establishment of a nominal Republic has not had this result; but Kuan Ti's position is not precisely what it was before 1911, for he is now required to share his quasi-divine honours equally with another. That other is no other than Yo Fei.

The change took place in the third year of the Republic (1914), under the Presidency of Yüan Shih-k'ai (袁世凱). Up to that time, Kuan Ti had taken precedence of all other "military" divinities, and his temple was known as the *Wu Miao* (武廟)—"Military Temple." In 1914, however, it was decreed by the President that the "Military Temple" was to be devoted to the cult not of Kuan Ti alone but of Kuan Ti and Yo Fei and twenty-four other celebrated military leaders and patriots who were considered worthy of partaking in the ceremonial rites. Kuan Ti and Yo Fei were to share the highest honours equally, and the twenty-four others were to be regarded as their spiritual "associates" (從祀者), just as numerous famous scholars and philosophers are "associated" with Confucius in the rites of the *Wên Miao* (文廟) or "Civil Temple."

Nothing was done to interfere with the existing Kuan Ti temples or their rituals; but it was considered necessary to emphasize the changes introduced into the official "military" cult by dedicating a new temple to Kuan Ti and Yo Fei and their Associates. The temple which was chosen for the purpose comprises a large group of buildings situated immediately to the north of the palace of Prince Ch'un (醇親王), ex-Prince Regent and father of the young emperor Hsüan T'ung. It was erected by the imperial government about a quarter of a century ago and was intended for use as an Ancestral Temple for Prince Ch'un, but had never actually been used as such when the dynasty was deposed. When it was taken over by the Republican Government (in exchange for a building which had formerly been one of the principal Kuan Ti temples in Peking) it was speedily converted into what might be described as the "mother-church" of the re-organized cult of Military Heroes. The main buildings of this temple are covered with beautiful coloured tiles and stand in spacious courtyards. The principal hall or chapel is called the *Wu Ch'êng Tien* (武成殿) —"Hall of Military Perfection"—in contradistinction to the *Ta*

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Ch'éng Tien (大成殿) or "Hall of Great Perfection" which is the name of the principal sanctuary in the Temple of Confucius. The interior, with its magnificent timber pillars and its richly-decorated roof is impressive in the stately simplicity of its arrangements. There are no images. The canonised heroes are represented by their "spirit-tablets" only — that is to say, plain oblong pieces of wood, each bearing the name of the person whom it represents. In the place of honour at the north side of the hall, facing the entrance, stand two tablets side by side, somewhat larger than the others. These are the tablets of Kuan Ti and Yo Fei. It is to be noted that Kuan Ti's tablet does not bear all his titles or the highest of them. He is merely *Kuan Chuang Mu Hou* (關壯穆侯) "Kuan the Marquis of Martial Dignity"—the earliest of his posthumous titles. The designation on Yo Fei's tablet also consists of four characters—*Yo Chung Wu Wang* (岳忠武王)—"Yo the Prince of Loyalty and Martial Prowess." On the east and west sides of the hall stand the tablets of the twenty-four "Associates"—twelve on each side. The names of these persons —all of whom are well-known historical characters—are as follow :

(1) Ch'i Chi-kuang (戚繼光), died 1585. (No. 304). *
(2) Fêng Shêng (馮勝), 14th century. A great general under T'ai Tsu, first emperor of the Ming dynasty. Elevated to ducal rank. His military career ended in 1387.
(3) Hsü Ta (徐達), 1329-1383. (No. 792).
(4) Hsü Lieh-wu (旭烈兀), 13th century. A Mongol general, a member of the imperial Mongol family. Between 1250 and 1260 he carried his successful arms as far as Persia.
(5) Han Shih-chung (韓世忠), died 1151. (No. 625).
(6) Ts'ao Pin (曹彬), 930-999. (No. 2009).
(7) Kuo Tzŭ-i (郭子儀), 697-781. (No. 1075. See also *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* (China Branch), vol. xxxv, 1903-4, pp. 1-20).
(8) Su Ting-fang (蘇定方), seventh century. A victorious general of the T'ang dynasty. He carried on successful warfare in Korea and also among the Mongol tribes of the north-west. Was raised to ducal rank.
(9) Li Ching (李靖), 571-649. (No. 1112).
(10) Han Ch'in-hu (韓擒虎), 527-581. (No. 612).

*The members given in brackets after some of the names refer to H. A. Giles's *A Chinese Biographical Dictionary*, where brief biographies will be found.

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(11) Wang Chün (王濬), third century A.D. Warred successfully against Wu (one of the "Three Kingdoms") largely through his daring use of large river-junks. He brought about the surrender of Sun Hao (Giles, No. 1807), the last monarch of the Wu dynasty.

(12) Chang Fei (張飛), died 220 A.D. (No. 51).

(13) Chou Yü-chi (周遇吉), middle of 17th century. A general of the last years of the Ming dynasty, famous for his physical strength and his skill in archery. Fought against the Manchus and against marauding bands, and also (in Shansi) against the notorious rebel Li Tzŭ-ch'êng (李自成). Was made a Grand Guardian of the Heir-Apparent and received the posthumous honorific title of *Chung Wu* (忠武) — "Loyal and Soldierly" — a title which was also conferred upon Nos. 5,7,15 and 21 on this list.

(14) Lan Yü (藍玉), 14th century. A soldier of the Ming dynasty. In recognition of his military exploits, raised to ducal rank.

(15) Ch'ang Yü-ch'un (常遇春), 1330-1369. (No. 143).

(16) Kuo K'an (郭侃), 13th century. He and his brother Tê-hai, and also their father Pao-yü, were distinguished generals of the beginning of the Yüan (Mongol) period. He accompanied Hsü Lieh-wu (No. 4 in this list) on his western campaigns and was believed by the enemy to possess supernatural power. As soldier and as statesman he served Shih Tsu (Kublai Khan) with distinction. He was partly responsible for establishing the capital at Peking and for the measures which brought about the extinction of the Sung dynasty.

(17) Liu I (劉錡), 12th century. A skilful leader, and in the reign of Kao Tsung (1127-1162) overcame the Hsi Hsia tribes and won a battle against the Golden Tatars.

(18) Ti Ch'ing (狄青), died 1057. (No. 1910).

(19) Wang Yen-chang (王彥章), 862-922. (No. 2247).

(20) Li Kuang-pi (李光弼), died 763. (No. 1162).

(21) Wei-ch'ih Ching-tê (慰遲敬德), 585-658. (No. 2267).

(22) Hsieh Hsüan (謝玄), 4th and 5th centuries, A.D. Was a son of Hsieh An (Giles, No. 724). Fought for the Chin imperial house against Fu Chien (Giles, No. 579) in the last quarter of the fourth century and routed him in a great decisive battle.

(23) Chao Yün (趙雲), died 229. (No. 196).

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(24) Ho Jo-pi (賀若弼), 6th and 7th centuries A.D. Distinguished in both letters and arms. Fought successful battles for the emperor Wên Ti of the Sui dynasty and was ennobled.

President Yüan Shih-k'ai was responsible for the selection of the twenty-four "Associates," and his choice is not considered, by Chinese historical students, to be altogether above criticism. They declare that several names which have been omitted are more famous in Chinese annals than several that have been included. Up to the present, however, nothing has been done to amend the list.

A little-known episode which took place towards the close of Yüan Shih-k'ai's monarchic-presidency is worth narrating on account of the interesting light it throws on the methods by which "canonisations" may be effected in China. At the end of the Ming period there was a high official named Yüan Ch'ung-huan (袁崇煥). He attained his "doctorate" in the Wan-Li reign (ending 1619) and afterwards became Governor of the Liao-tung province in Southern Manchuria. He also became a Censor, and was President of the Board of War during the reign of the last emperor of the Ming dynasty. He had the reputation of personal courage and was "fond of talking about war," though he was a *wén* (civil) and not a *wu* (military) official. Finally he was put to death as a result of slanderous accusations said to have been made against him by his political enemies. Now this man Yüan Ch'ung-huan belonged to the same ancestral stock as that of Yüan Shih-k'ai. Accordingly, when Yüan and his friends began the agitation which was intended to place him on the throne, it was considered right and fitting that the name of Yüan Ch'ung-huan, henceforth to be regarded as an ancestor of the new imperial clan, should be given an honoured place in the roll of national worthies, and that his virtues should be publicly acknowledged and emphasized. Apart from considerations of "filial piety," this project if carried out would tend very usefully to show the world that the founder of the new dynasty was no mere *parvenu*, but belonged to a family that had already produced illustrious members.* In accordance with this scheme, Chu Jui (Military Governor of Chehkiang), Liang Shih-i (well known in the Chinese political and financial world), the Civil and Military Governors of Kirin, and other influential persons were induced to submit Memorials to the President in which the surpassing merits of Yüan Ch'ung-huan

* For similar reasons a foolish attempt was made by some of Yüan's flatterers to prove that he was the descendant of the "Yellow Emperor," whose reign is assigned to the 27th century B.C.

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were set forth in glowing terms, and the recommendation was made that he should be canonised as a national hero and share in the religious honours accorded to Kuan Ti and Yo Fei.* The President's endorsements on these documents consisted of brief directions that the Memorials should be referred to the Department of Ceremonies for consideration and report. No one, however, was in the least doubt regarding the President's private wishes in the matter ; and if Yüan's attempt to seat himself on the throne had been finally successful it is quite certain that the Department of Ceremonies would have humbly begged His Majesty graciously to accede to the earnest prayer of his loyal subjects by elevating the illustrious hero and patriot Yüan Ch'ung-huan to a position at least equal to that of Kuan Ti and Yo Fei. But things turned out differently. Since the death of Yüan Shih-k'ai, the transcendent qualities of his ancestor have ceased to stir the enthusiasm of Chinese patriots or sycophants, and Kuan Ti and Yo Fei have been left undisturbed in their martial supremacy.

The reorganization of the cult of Heroes was based on sound considerations of practical statecraft and national expediency. The main objects were to encourage patriotic ideals among the people, to raise the public estimation of the profession of arms, and to inspire the soldiers themselves with military zeal and professional pride. On the occasions of the periodical ceremonies appointed to be carried out in honour of the twenty-six heroes, army commanders are enjoined to bring their troops to the local "Military Temple" so that they may be spectators of the rites and have an opportunity of showing their reverence for the memory of the great soldiers of past days. The troops are also expected to take oaths of allegiance and good conduct. The motives of the Government in this matter were given apt expression by the well-known Republican general Ts'ai Ao (蔡鍔), who in the following Memorial signified his strong approval of the new regulations.

"In order to control properly the people of the country, it is necessary that respect and reverence should be shown to the spirits of our great dead. It is indeed a most excellent idea to order the military and navy to take the oath of allegiance in the Temple of War Heroes.† To achieve merits in order to show

* English translations of some of these documents were published in the *Peking Gazette*, August 21st and November 5th, 1915. One sentence runs: "For the past thousand years there has been none so great as he, and his merits surpass those of any of the 24 great National Heroes recently canonised by the Bureau of Ceremonies."

† Sailors as well as soldiers take part in the cult. In the popular mind the military and naval professions are not yet clearly differentiated.

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appreciation of the favours of the Master was the declaration of General Kuan Yü, and 'faithful unto death' was the oath taken by General Yo Fei. The lives and actions of these two National Heroes, as recorded in the histories of the Han and Sung dynasties, are indeed a model for all military men of this country. We have found that the foundation of this nation is still in a precarious condition and the heart of the people has deteriorated. Consequently it is specially important at this time to set before the people the lofty ideals of these two Generals."*

The first ceremony at Peking took place in January 1915. President Yüan Shih-k'ai did not attend in person but commissioned General Yin Ch'ang (殷 昌), his chief military aide-de-camp and Commander of the Model Army Division, to act as his deputy. The general led his officers and soldiers to the newly-established Temple, and there they took the military oaths, which may be summarized as follows: —

(1) To be loyal.
(2) To be obedient.
(3) To protect the people of China from enemies.
(4) To be ready to die for their country.
(5) T. be diligent and zealous in their duties, to respect their superiors and comrades, and to be true and upright in speech and action.
(6) To abstain from taking part in political movements and from joining political societies or parties.

The ceremony is as simple as it is impressive, and though some foreigners have asserted that it fosters superstition and "shows in a painful manner the backward strides that are being taken by the Government,"† such complaints show a curious lack of sympathy and understanding. The religious significance of the cult is, indeed, very slight. The soldiers are not called upon to subscribe to any dogmas or beliefs regarding the powers or functions supposed to belong to the objects of the cult, nor do they prostrate themselves before any idol. They are merely expected to bow the head as they file past a row of wooden tablets bearing the honoured names of those who fought and in many cases died for their country.‡ And surely no more fitting-place

* *The Peking Gazette*, June 7th, 1915.

† This sentence occurs in an account of the ceremony as held in a provincial city. See *North-China Daily News* (Shanghai), October 7th, 1915.

‡ A short account of the proceedings at Peking appeared in the *North-China Daily News*, January 26,1915. Similar ceremonies have been regularly carried out ever since, both in Peking and in the provinces. The Spring ceremony in 1920 took place on March 31st, and in Peking the President (Hsü Shih-ch'ang) was represented by the general who had attended on behalf of Yüan Shih-k'ai.

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could be chosen for administering the military oaths of loyalty, obedience and self-sacrifice than a building which has been dedicated to the memory of the heroes who are believed to have been the highest embodiments of those ideals.

Nevertheless though China in the course of her long history has produced many heroic leaders and many brave soldiers, the Chinese are not a people (to their honour be it said) who delight in warfare or in military glory for its own sake. They are right to honour those who have fought bravely and died nobly for China, but they will be wrong if, following in the footsteps of the bellicose West, they seek to exalt the military virtues above all others or come to regard aggressive warfare as necessary for their nation's greatness or the full development of its soul. Fortunately it is improbable that they will ever do so. Their present experiences under the rule of selfish military chieftains, with their devastating hordes of rapacious followers politely termed armies, are not likely to destroy the peace-loving instincts of the great masses of the people or to induce them to elevate the soldier above the sage in the scale of human values.

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NOTES ON PLAYFAIR'S

"THE CITIES AND TOWNS OF CHINA"

BY

C. M.

The well-known Moslem inscription at Hsi-an, which bears the date 天寶元年 (A.D. 742) ends with the note 關中萬年縣石公刻 "Cut by Mr. Shih of Wan-nien district in Kuan-chung." Of this Mr. Broomhall wrote in *Islam in China*, p. 87, "It is questionable if a monument of 742 A.D. could have borne the name of Wan-nien hsien, which, according to Consul Playfair's *Cities and Towns of China*, belongs to the posterior Chou dynasty."

The late Dr. Stanley Jenkins, who had lived at Hsi-an, wrote to me that the district had "lost that name [Wan-nien] by the 3rd year of Sui K'ai Hwang [A.D. 583]." Playfair, who does not claim completeness for the historical part of his work, does in fact say "*P. Chou*, Wan-nien; *Sui*, Ta-hsing; *Five dyn.*, Ta-nien;" (2nd. ed., p. 200). But the *Chiu T'ang Shu* c. 38, fol. 5r° begins the list of districts as follows: 萬年 隋大興縣武德元年改爲萬年乾封元年分置明堂縣治永樂坊長安三年廢復併萬年天寶七載改爲咸寧乾元復舊也 "Wan-nien. Ta-hsing hsien of the Sui; changed to Wan-nien in the first Wu-tê year (618); in the first Ch'ien-fêng year (666) the subsidiary hsien of Ming-t'ang was established with the magistrate's office in the Yung-lo fang; in the third Ch'ang-an year (703) this was abolished and joined again to Wan-nien; in the seventh T'ien-pao year (748) [Wan-nien] was changed to Hsien-ning; in Ch'ien-yüan (758-760) it returned to the old [name, Wan-nien]." The *Hsin T'ang Shu* c. 37, fol. 2r° agrees generally with this, giving the date 702 for 703, and 757 for 758-760. The *Sui Shu* c. 29, fol. 2r° has 大興開皇三年置後周舊郡置縣曰萬年 "Ta-hsing, constituted

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in the third K'ai-huang year (583); the old chün under the later Chou (557-580) was made a hsien and called Wan-nien." From the *Chou Shu* c. 4, fol. 1v°, we learn that Wan-nien hsien was thus divided off from Ch'ang-an (分長安爲萬年縣) on July 8, 558. It seems to be worth while to make this small addition to Playfair, as it refers to the capital of the empire under not the least important of the dynasties.

* * *

Hsi-an itself fares no better. "*T'ang*, Kuan-nei." But 關內 Kuan-nei was the name of the province (道). 京兆郡 Ching-chao chün of the Sui was changed to 雍州 Yung chou in 618, but restored for a few years in 690. Yung-chou was changed to 京兆府 Ching-chao fu in 713, and Ching-chao remained the name of the place till it was changed to 安西路 An-hsi lu in 1279, 奉元路 Fêng-yüan lu in 1312, and 西安府 Hsi-an fu in 1369. Under the T'ang the city was known at different times as 西京 Hsi-ching, 中京 Chung-ching, or 上都 Shang tu. 永興 Yung-hsing in the Sung was the name of a 軍 chün containing both 京兆 Ching-chao and 河中 Ho-chung fu. See *Chiu T'ang shu* c. 38, fol. 4, 5; *Sung Shih* c. 87, fol. 1; *Yüan Shih* c. 60, fol. 1; *Ming Shih* c. 42, fol. 5. Playfair mentions neither Ching-chao nor Fêng-yüan, though he gives both under 長安 Ch'ang-an.

* * *

Turning from north to south I looked up Kuang-chou (Canton) and found "*S.A.*, Yang-ch'êng; Ts'in, in Nan-hai *chün*; *Wu*, P'an C.; *T'ang* and *Sung*, Ch'ing-hai; *Ming*, Kuang-chou Fu." Anyone who has studied the native geographies (地理志) will probably agree that Chinese *cities* have no names. This is, of course, hyperbole; but it is a distracting fact that the name which we too fondly attach to a city really describes an administration or administrative area, the headquarters (治) of which may be moved from place to place while the name remains the same, or may remain in one place while the name of the administration changes. Remembering this we turn to the *Chiu T'ang Shu* c. 41, fol. 19 and find the great province of 嶺南道 Ling-nan tao. The first division is 南海節度使 Nan-hai chieh tu shih, comprising 17 州 chou. Of these chou the first is 廣 Kuang, called apparently indiscriminately or at different periods, 廣州 Kuang-chou or 廣府 Kuang fu. Kuang-chou comprised 10 縣 hsien of which the first two were 南海 Nan-hai and 番禺 P'an-yü. The position of the 州 chou (i.e., presumably, of the governor's residence) is by unusual good fortune described.

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It was 300 paces west of P'an hill, and 1 *li* south of Yü hill (番山在州東三百步禺山在北一里). The identity of these hills seems to be doubtful, but they were, *at most*, three *li* from the present city. (Ta Ch'ing i t'ung chih c. 275, fol. 9).

Here then was a territory well known as Kuang-chou in the T'ang dynasty with its headquarters very near the site of the headquarters of more modern Kuang-chou fu, and it is rather misleading to introduce the name Kuang-chou for the first time in the Ming dynasty. Moreover, the two pages devoted to Kuang-chou and its ten hsien in the *Chiu T'ang Shu* do not mention either 清海 Ch'ing-hai or 咸寧 Hsien ning, which Playfair gives as the T'ang name of the Nan-hai hsien. And in the Sung dynasty (*Sung-Shih* c. 90, fol. 1) it was much the same. 廣 Kuang is first of 14 chou in 廣南東路 Kuang-nan-tung lu, and it includes 8 hsien of which the first two are still Nan-hai and P'an-yu. But here 清海軍 Ch'ing-hai chün and 咸寧縣 Hsien-ning hsien are mentioned, the latter with no very obvious connection with Nan-hai. On the other hand Playfair's statement is exactly supported by the 廣輿形勝 *Kuang yü hsing shêng*— 春秋爲南越地舊稱羊城秦置南海郡 . . . 三國吳曰廣州隋曰番州唐宋曰清海元明爲廣州府) "In the Springs and Autumns it was in southern Yüeh, and formerly called Yang-ch'êng; the Ch'in founded Nan-hai chün; . . . Under Wu, in the three kingdoms, it was called Kuang-chou; in the Sui it was called P'an-chou; in the T'ang and Sung Ch'ing-hai; and in the Yüan and Ming Kuang-chou fu."

* * *

福州 Fu-chou. Playfair; "*T'ang*, Chien C. and Ch'ang-lê; *Sung*, Fu C. and Wei-wu; *Ming*, Fu-chou." *Kuang yü hsing shêng*: 唐曰建州曰福州曰長樂 . . . 宋曰威武元明爲福州府, moving Playfair's Fu C. from the Sung to the T'ang. The *Sung Shih* c. 89, fol. 1, gives 福 Fu as the first of the 6 chou in 福建路 Fu-chien lu. The entry is 福州大都督府長樂郡威武軍節度 making Wei-wu (exactly like 清海 Ch'ing-hai under Kuang-chou) not an alternative name for the city, but another administration with its headquarters probably in the same place.

The *Chiu T'ang Shu* c. 40, fol. 11, gives Fu-chou (福州中都督府) in the eastern division of the 江南道 Chiang-nan tao, noting that it is the same as 閩 Min-hsien of the Sui, and that it was named 泉州 Ch'üan-chou in 627, 閩州 Min-chou in 711, 福州 Fu-chou in 725; transferred from Ling-nan to

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Chiang-nan tao in 734; and later called 長樂郡 Ch'ang-lo chün, and 福州 Fu-chou finally in 758. 建州 Chien-chou seems to have been quite a separate place.

* * *

Here I should have stopped had not my eye fallen upon Hang-chou "*Sui*, Hang C.; *T'ang*, Yü-hang; *Sung*, Lin-an; *Ming*, Hang-chou Fu." From the *Sui Shu* c. 31, fol. 3v°, it seems that 杭 Hang was made a chou at the beginning of the dynasty, but changed to 餘杭郡 Yü-hang chün in 607. The *Chiu T'ang Shu* c. 40, fol. 7v°, says that Hang-chou was restored in 621 and after various rather intricate changes was made subordinate to 餘杭郡 Yü-hang chün in 742, and finally reconstituted in 758. From that time till 995, at least, Hang-chou seems to have remained, and indeed, in spite of changes in administration in 995 and 1107, it continued until it was made Lin-an fu in 1129 (*Sung Shih* c. 25, fol. 7v°, 升杭州爲臨安府). In 1278 it became 杭州路 Hang-chou lu (*Yüan Shih*, c. 62, fol. 1), and in December 1366, 杭州府 Hang-chou fu (*Ming Shih* c. 44, fol. 9v°). The Republic has made it 杭縣 Hang hsien.

The information given above will be found in a simple form and even more detail in the 大清一統志 *Ta ch'ing i t'ung chih*.

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A RELATION OF THE KINGDOME OF COCHIN-CHINA

BY

E. T. C. WERNER

H.B.M. CONSUL, FOOCHOW (RETIRED)

(Concluded)

OF THE EELPHANTS [*sic*] AND RHINOCEROS.

There are many *Elephants* in the woods of *Cochin-China*, of which they make no vse, because they haue not the skill to catch them and to make them tame, but they have some brought vnto them from a neighbouring countrey called *Cambogia*, which are instructed and disciplined before. These are as great againe as the *Indian Elephants*, the print of their foot which they leaue behind them, is a foot and halfe in the Diameter : The teeth which come out of their mouthes, of which *Iuorie* is made, are oft times thirteene, sometimes fourteene foot in length ; but those of the female *Elephants* are much shorter : Whence may easily be coniectured, how much greater the *Elephants* of *Cochin-China* are, then those which are brought into *Europe*, whose teeth are not aboue two foot and a halfe in length.

They are long liued ; and thereupon when I once demanded how old one of them was, his Conductor answered me, that he was threescore yeeres old when he was brought out of *Cambogia*, and had liued fourty yeeres in *Cochin-China*.

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And because I haue trauelled many times on *Elephants* in this Kingdome, I can report many things of them which will seeme very strange, but are neuerthelesse true.

The *Elephant* doth ordinarily carry thirteene or fourteene persons, who are thus in this manner accommodated ; Euen as we put Saddles on our Horses, so doe they put vpon their *Elephants*, a kind of Engine fashioned like vnto a great *Hors-Litter*, within the which there are foure seates ; and it is fastned and tied with chaines vnder the belly of the *Elephant*, in like manner as the Saddle is with the Girthes to the Horse. This *Litter* hath two entries or open places on each side, in which are bestowed sixe persons, being ranked by three and three ; and another behind, wherein two persons are placed ; and then the *Nayre* (who is the Coach-man or Conductor), placing himselfe on the Head of the *Elephant*, that he may guide and gouerne him. It hath not onely happened vnto me to trauell by Land in this manner, but many times also by Water, passing in this sort ouer some arme of the Sea, sometimes more than halfe a league from the Land. And to speake trueth, it is a maruellous thing to him that neuer saw it ; to see such a great and huge masse of flesh, loaden with so heauy a burden, to goe swimming and crossing the waters like a Boate with Oares. True it is, that he made it sufficiently appeare, that he suffered much, as well in the paines he tooke to carry the great masse of his body, as for his difficulty of breathing ; Insomuch that to ease and refresh himselfe in this great trauell, he tooke vp the water in his trunke, and cast it vp so high in the aire, that one might haue thought it had beene some *Whale* of the Sea.

By reason of his great corpulency, it is an extreame difficulty for him to bow downe ; and although he must needs doe it, for the commoditie of those that are to goe out or enter into the *Litter*, yet he neuer doth it but when the *Nayre* commandeth him ; and if whiles he is so bowed downe, any make too long stay, either in complying with friends or otherwise ; he raiseth himselfe on his feet, with impatience to remaine so long in such a violent posture.

It is no lesse wonder, to see how at the commandment of the *Nayre*, he maketh his body in manner of a Ladder, for the greater commodity of those that are to enter into the *Litter:* For the first step, he offereth his Foot, which is distant enough from ground ; for the second he presenteth his Pasterne, at a conuenient distance from the first ; and for the third, he boweth his Knee ; the fourth step, is on the bone of his Flanke which is cast somewhat outward for the purpose ; and from thence he receiueth you on his trunke, and carrieth you to a chaine fastned to his *Litter*.

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Hereby euidently appeareth, how much they haue bin deceiued who haue written, that the *Elefant* [sic] could neither bow himselfe nor lie downe, and that the only way to take him, was to cut the tree against which he was to leane when he went to sleepe : because that by the fall of that tree which was to sustaine and support him, he must of force fall downe without any ability to raise himselfe againe : by which meanes, he should be an assured prey to the Hunter that pursued him. All this is but a fable ; although it be out of doubt, that he neuer lieth downe to sleepe : that Situation being so incommodious and violent for him, as hath beene expressed : and therefore hee sleepeth alwayes standing, with a continuall agitation of his head. . . . .

This beast is exceeding strong, and hath not his like. I haue seene one myselfe . . . alone to draw ten small Boats one after another, taking them betweene his Teeth, with great dexterity, and casting them into the Sea. . . . His motion to those that are not vsed vnto it ; bringeth the like incommoditie as they find in the Ship, that are not accustomed to Sea-voyages.

For the Docilitie of the *Elephant*, I shall say more maruellous things, then those which are ordinarily rehearsed : Which will make it manifest, that with great reason it was said by one, *Elephanto belluarum nulla prudentior ;* seeing hee doth such things as will giue men iust cause to beleeue, that they cannot see how they should be done, without Intelligence and Prudence.

First then, the *Nayre* vseth an Instrument of Iron about the length of foure hands breadth, with which he doth sometimes beate or pricke him, with a sharpe crooke which is in the end thereof, to awaken him, and make him attentiue to what is commanded him, yet notwithstanding hee doth ordinarily rule and direct him with words, in such sort, that hee seemeth to vnderstand his language : And there are of them, that vnderstand three or foure, according to the Countreyes where they haue lived. So it seemed that hee on which I trauelled, vnderstood the Language of *Cambogia*, whence he was brought, and that of *Cochin-China*, where he serued. But who would not wonder to see the *Nayre* talking to his *Elephant*, informing him of his voyage, of the wayes he is to goe, in what Inne hee intendeth to lodge, what prouision hee shall finde there, and to tell him particularly what he is to doe in all that Iourney thorowout ; and that the *Elephant* performeth all with as much punctuality, as a man of sound Iudgement. In such sort, that hauing vnderstood whither he is to goe, hee goeth straight directly thither, without seeking of a beaten way, and without any astonishment, if he meet with riuers, Woods, or Mountaines, but imagining that he shall euery where make his

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passage, hee passeth through all difficulties: For if there be a Riuer in his way, hee either wadeth, or swimmeth through it; If hee be to passe through a Wood, hee breaketh the branches that hinder him, pulleth vp whole Trees with his trunke, and cutteth off others with a sharpe Iron, made like vnto a Sithe, which for such purposes is fastened vnto the forepart of the *Litter*; and when occasion serueth, hee draweth first the branches and boughes to him, then he taketh this Iron and cutteth them away; making himselfe an open passage through the thickest Forrests whatsoeuer, whereby men perceiue that the *Elephant* hath beene there and opened the way. All this hee doth easily, and readily to execute the commandements of the *Nayre*. One onely thing this beast findeth incommodious and grieuous, which is, when any thorne or other sharpe thing pricketh the soles of his feete, which he hath very tender and sensible; going therefore but softly, and with great circumspection, when hee is to passe through such dangerous places. I was once on a Iourney, in which there were seuen or eight *Elephants* in company, when I hard [*sic*] the *Nayres* each of them aduertising his beast to take heede to their footing, because they were to goe for the space of halfe a League, through certaine sandie places, in which there were commonly some Thornes growing: At which warning the *Elephants* bowed downe their heads, and looking attentiuely with their eyes, as men commonly doe when they seeke after somewhat that is lost, they went faire and softly, with great heedfulnesse, whiles they were in that danger, till such time as being told that they were past feare, they lifted vp their heads, and continued their pace as before. In the euening, being come to their Inne, the *Nayres* bid the *Elephants* goe to pasture in a Wood, without taking their *Litters* from their backes: And when I questioned them why they did not discharge them of that burden, they answered me, that the *Elephants* were to feede on the boughs, and bodies of trees, and therefore that they might cut them downe at their pleasure, with the sharpe Iron we speake of, they were to keepe on their *Litters*. The next day, being to lodge in a place where there was no Wood, the *Nayres* brrought [*sic*] each of them a great faggot of greene trees for their *Elephants*, I tooke great delight to obserue how one of them with his trunke tooke these boughs more nimbly than the rest, pulled them with his teeth, and did eate them after with as good an appetite as wee would eate a figge, or any other fruit. The next day discoursing with the other trauellers, being about some twenty persons, I told them what pleasure I tooke in beholding how handsomely this *Elephant* did make shift to feede on those boughes.

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Whereupon the *Nayre* by commandement of the owner of this *Elephant*, called him aloud by his name, which was *Gnin*, who being gone a little aside, presently lifted vp his head, as hearkning what he would say to him: Remember saith the *Nayre* the father the passenger, that was pleased yesterday to see thee eate: Take presently a truncheon such as thou hadst then, and comē into his presence, doing as thou didst: No sooner had the *Nayre* spoken, but the *Elephant* holding a Truncheon in his mouth, commeth before me, and finding me out amongst the rest, presenteth it vnto me; then peeleth and eateth it, and doing me a profound reuerence, retireth himselfe as it were laughing, with signes of gladnesse and reioycing: And I remained astonished, to see in a beast so much aptnesse to vnderstand and to doe what was commanded him. Yet he is obedient to none but to the *Nayre* or to his Master, and endureth not to see any other get vpon him; which if any attempt to doe, and he see it, they doubt he would cast downe his *Litter*, and kill him with his trunke. Therefore when any are to get vp on him, the *Nayre* couereth his eyes with his eares, which are very huge and vnhandsome. When he sheweth himselfe resty in doing what is commanded him, and doth it not so readily as hee ought, the *Nayre* hauing both his feet vpon his head, beateth and chastiseth him soundly, giuing great blowes with a staffe, in the midst of his forehead; . . . the *Elephant* trembleth euery Limbe and Ioynt; yet endureth it with much patience. . . .

The tame *Elephant* fighteth onely with two sorts of beasts, which are the *Wilde Elephant*, and the *Abade* or *Rinoceros*; for this latter he is commonly too hard, but by the former he is ordinarily ouercome.

The *Abade* is a beast which hath some resemblance of the *Oxe*, and somewhat of the *Horse*; and is of the bignesse of a little *Elephant*: He is couered all ouer with Scales, which is to him as an armour; he hath but one horne in the midst of his forehead, which groweth straight, being formed like a Pyramide: his feete and hoofes like those of an *Oxe*. Whiles I was at *Nouoemon* a Towne in the Prouince of *Pulucambes*, the Gouernour went out once to hunt an *Abade*, which was in a Wood not farre from our dwelling: He was accompanied with more then a hundred, some on foot, others on horsebacke, with eight or ten *Elephants*. The *Abade* commeth out of the Wood, and at the sight of so many enemies, not onely sheweth no signe of feare, but furiously goeth against them all; thereupon the company diuiding themselues into two wings, the *Abade* runneth through the midst of them, and came to the rereward where the Gouernour was mounted on

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an *Elephant*, which sought to take hold on the *Abade* with his trunke, but could not, by reason that the other made so many leapes and friskoles, seeking to pierce the *Elephant* with his horne. The Gouernour knowing well that this beast could not bee wounded, but where he had no Scales, which was onely in his flanke, watched when in his leaping his belly was towards him; and taking his aduantage, threw a dart at him, with which he pierced him through, which caused great acclamations and shoutings of ioy throughout all his troope; who there presently in the field made a great bonfire of wood, wherein whiles the Scales of the beast were burning, they daunced and leaped about it; and when, as by degrees, the flesh came to be rosted, they cut out euery one his Carbonado, and merrily eate it. Then they opened the *Abade* to take out his Heart, his Liuer and his Braine, whereof they made a delicate dish, which they presented to the Gouernour, who had retired himselfe somewhat aside to a higher place, where hee solaced himselfe with their iollity. I being present at this piece of seruice, obtained of the Gouernour, the Nayles or Hoofes for my share, which are esteemed to haue the like vertue and property, that the Hoofe of the *Elk* hath. The Horne also is thought to be as soueraigne against poyson, as the *Vnicornes* Horne is held to be.

OF THE TEMPERAMENT MANNERS AND CUSTOMES OF THE COCHIN-CHINOIS, OF THEIR MANNER OF LIUING, CLOTHING, AND MEDICINES.

The *Cochin-Chinois* are little differing from the *Chinois* in their Countenance, being all of Oliue colours; those I meane that are toward the Sea: for the others which are farther into the Land towards *Tunchim*, are as white as those of *Europe*. In the lineaments of their faces they are like the Inhabitants of *China*; flat nosed as they are, with little eyes. They are of a meane stature; neither so little as the *Iaponois*, nor yet so tall as the *Chinois*; but in strength and agility of body, they exceed them both: They surpasse the *Chinois* also in courage and valour. . . . The *Cochin-Chinois* is more gentle and courteous in conuersation, then any other nation of the East: and albeit on the one side they stand much vpon their valour; yet on the other side, they hold it as infamous to be transported with choller. And whereas all the other Easterne nations hold the *Europeans* for profane people, and haue them naturally in horror; in such sort, that when wee land in any of their Countreys, they betake themselues to flight. In *Cochin-China* on the contrary, they contend who shall conuerse with vs most; they aske vs many questions,

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they inuite vs to eate with them, vsing all kind of Courtesie, Ciuility, and Familiarity. So it happened with me and my companions at our first arriuall there; where it seemed vnto vs, as if we were amongst our ancient acquaintance . . .

They are of a liberall inclination, and beneficent to the poore, neuer refusing their alms to those that aske it, and would thinke they had failed much in their duty, if they had denied them, as holding themselues bound in iustice to relieue those that are in want. By means whereof, it happened that some strangers making ship-wracke in one of the ports of *Cochin-China*, and hauing no knowledge of the tongue, by which they might beg what they needed, holp their necessity sufficiently by learning this one word, *Doy*, which signifieth, I am hungry: For as soone as they perceiued strangers complayning in such a manner, and crying *Doy* at their doores, they went out all auie, being touched with compassion, and gaue them somewhat to eat, whereby they got suddenly so much prouision, that the King hauing granted them a Ship, to carry them into their Countrey, there was not one of them willing to take that opportunity, they were become so affected to that Countrey, where they had found such as would liberally furnish them wherewith to sustaine themselues without working: Insomuch that the Captaine of the Ship was driuen to constraine them with a good cudgell, and with the flat of his Sword, to embarke themselues, as they did with good store of *Rice* which they had gathered, going but from doore to doore, and crying, I am hungry.

But as these *Cochin-Chinois* doe shew themselues prompt and liberall in giuing, so are they as much or more in requesting whatsoeuer they see to their liking; for they no sooner can cast their eye on any thing which they thinke rare and curious, but they are desirous thereof, and will say vnto you *Sin Mocay*, which signifieth, giue me one of those: and they hold it a great discourtesie to deny them any thing, though it be rare and precious, or no more such to be had; and account him base that refuseth them, whereby men are driuen either to hide what they haue, or to be ready to bestow it on him that shall aske it.

A *Portugal* Merchant, nothing liking this strange custome (as indeede there are few that like well of it) seeing himselfe euery day importuned to giue whatsoeuer good thing hee had, was one day disposed to carrie himselfe in like manner toward them; and so comming to a poore Fisher-mans boate, and laying hands on a great panier full of Fish, he saith vnto him in the language of that Countrey, *Sin Mocay*, Giue me this; the good man without further discourse gaue him the panier as it was, to

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carry away, which the *Portugal* carried to his House accordingly, wondering at the liberality of the poore man. But hauing consideration of his pouerty, he paid him afterward the value. . . .

In all the Houses of *Cochin-China*, be they neuer so poore, three sorts of sitting are vsed. The first, and least of all is, on a Matt stretched out on the ground; whereon all doe sit, that are of the like quality and degree. The second is on certaine Coards or Girts, stretched out and couered with a finer kind of Matts then the former, where those of the better rancke place themselues. The third is on a Tent which is raised from the ground, about some two foote and a halfe, made in manner of a Bed, which is reserued onely for the Gouernours, or Lords of the place, or for such as are dedicated to the Seruice of God: On which they alwayes make our Fathers to sit. . . .

The *Cochin-Chinois* eate sitting crosse-legd on the ground, hauing a round Table before them, brest-high, curiously wrought, and the edge or border about it gilded with Siluer or Gold, according to the quality of the persons. This Table is not very great, the custome being, that euery one haue a seuerall Table; and that as many guests as are inuited or expected, so many Tables be prepared for them, which is also obserued when they eate in priuate, vnlesse haply the Husband and Wife, or the Father and Sonne bee contented with one Table. They haue neither kniues nor forkes at the Table, not needing any. They haue no need of kniues, because their morsells are before cut out in the Kitchin; and in lieu of forkes they haue little stickes finely polished which they put betwixt their fingers in such sort, that with their dexterity they can take vp any thing therewith. They haue as little need of table Napkins, seeing they neuer foule their hands, but alwayes take vp their meat with those stickes. . . .

They vse also to drinke a dayes, of a certaine warme water, in which the root of an hearbe which they call *Chia* hath sod; of which this drinke taketh the name, being very cordiall, and not a little helpfull to disperse the noysome humours of the stomach, and to facilitate the digestion. The like is vsed in *Iapan* and *China* also; sauing that in *China*, in lieu of the root, they seeth onely the leaues of the tree, and in *Iapan* they take them in powder, but the effects are the same; and they all call it *Chia*. . . .

They haue also the vse of Blood-letting by Phlebolomie; yet they are more sparing thereof, then with vs in *Europe*; neither doe they vse Lancets, but haue many Goose-quills, into which they fasten diuers little pieces of Porcelane that are very sharpe, fashioned and placed like the teeth of a Saw, some greater, and some lesse. And when they are to open a Veine, they apply one

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of these quills thereunto, and giuing a little stroake thereon with their finger, they open the Veine with the Porcelane, which entereth no further then is requisite. But that which is yet more strange, is, that when they haue drawen Blood sufficiently, they vse no band, nor Ligature about it: but onely wetting their thumbe with a little spittle, they presse it on the wound, and make the skin returne to his place, the Blood suddenly stanching, and the ouerture closing together: Which I attribute to their opening of it with the Porcelane, which maketh the Veine to close up, and to heale so easily.

OF THE CIUILL AND POLITICKE GOUERNEMENT OF COCHIN-CHINA.

Their Gouernement in Generall, hath some affinity with that which is vsed in *Iapan* and in *China*. But as the *Iaponians* account of Armes, much more then of Sciences, and the *Chinois* on the contrary esteemeth highly of the Siences [*sic*], and maketh no great reckoning of Armes: The *Cochin-Chinois* not following the course of either of these nations, doe not reiect or abandon the one, as if they were wholly addicted to the other; but are indifferently affected to either, according to their occasions. And accordingly doe recompence and preferre, sometimes the Doctors, and sometimes the Souldiers, to the offices and dignities of their Kingdome.

Cochin-China hath many Vniuersities, in which there bee Readers and Schooles and Degrees; to which their Schollers are aduanced by examination, as they are in *China*; teaching the same Sciences, vsing the same Bookes and Authors; namely, *Zinfa* or *Confus*, as the *Portugals* call him; being an Author of as sublime and profound Learning and Authority with them, as *Aristotle* amongst vs, and indeed more ancient. These bookes are full of Erudition, of rare Histories, of graue Sentences, of Prouerbes and such like, all concerning good manners; such as *Seneca*, *Cato*, or *Cicero* here with vs. Many yeeres labour is spent in learning the propriety of the Phrase, Characters and Hieroglyphikes in which they are written. But that part which they account most of, and haue in greatest estimation, is Morall Philosophy; comprehending the Ethik, Oeconomik and Politick. And it is a goodly sight to see and vnderstand them in their Halls, when they reade and pronounce their Lectures aloud as if they sang: which they doe, to accustome themselues, and to get a habite, to giue to euery word his proper accent; of which they haue a great number that signifie many seuerall different things; whereby may be

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gathered, that to conuerse with them, it is requisite to know the principles of Musicke and Counter-point. . . .

Besides those Bookes which treate of Morall Philosophie, they haue also of Sacred matters, as they call them, concerning the Creation, and beginning of the World, of reasonable Soules, of the Demons, of Idols, and of their different Sects; these Bookes they call *Sayc Kim*, to distinguish them from the profane, which they terme *Sayc Chiu*. . . .

They dispatch all their affaires more readily, rather according to the Martiall Law *More belli*, then by pleadings at the Barre with Iudges, Notaries and Proctors with their dilatory proceedings. The Vice-Royes and Gouernours of Prouinces, supplying all those offices, and giuing publike audience foure houres euery day in a faire large Court within their Pallace; two houres in the forenoone, and two houres in the afternoone. Thither goe all that haue controuersie, to represent their pretensions and their plaints; and the Vice-Roy or Gouernour leaning on a window, vnderstandeth the grieuances of each one after the other. And because the Gouernours are ordinarily men of good iudgement and experience in affaires, questioning the parties to good purpose, and obseruing also the apprehension of the assistants, which they coniecture by their countenance, and the approbation which they haue of the demandant or defendant, they discouer easily the trueth of the businesse forthwith, and pronounce their sentence aloud without delay, which is presently executed, without appeale or any other formality; whether it bee death or banishment, or whipping, or pecuniary amends; chastising euery offence as the Law requireth.

The crimes whereof they are most commonly accused, which are seuerely chastised among them, are many: But aboue all, they punish rigorously the false accusers, Theeues, and Adulterers. When the first are conuicted to haue charged any falsly with a crime, whereof he was not guilty, hee is condemned, without mercy, to endure the same punishment which the other should haue suffered, if he had committed that whereof he was accused. And indeed experience hath made it appeare, to be the best course of sifting out the trueth. Their theeues are punished according to the proportion of the theft: If they haue stollen any thing of great value, they cut of [*sic*] their heads: If of lesse consequence, as a Hen, they lose only a finger; and for the second offence they cut off another: If they be taken with a third, they must loose [*sic*] an eare; and for the fourth offence they cut off the necke.

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The adulterers, be they men or women, are exposed to the *Elephants*, who kill them in the manner ensuing. The offender is conducted out of the Towne into a Plaine, where in the presence of an infinite number of people, he is brought into the midst of the place, with his hands and feet tied neere vnto the *Elephant*, vnto whom the sentence of the party that is to be put to death is read, that he may execute it from point to point. The order being this: That first he shall seize on him, take him and straine him with his trunke, and hold him so suspended in the aire, shewing him to all the world; then that he cast him vp with violence, and receiue him againe on the point of his teeth, that by the heauy fall of his weight he may gage himselfe thereon, and that then he dash him against the ground, and that in the end hee tread him vnder his feet. All which the *Elephant* doth, without failing in any one point, to the great astonishment and terrour of all that are present, who by the punishment which they see inflicted on another, doe learne, that fidelity is to be kept betweene those that are married.

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A STUDY OF ROMAN CATHOLIC MISSIONS IN CHINA—1692-1744

BY

HOLLIS W. HERING, M.A.

INTRODUCTION

The modern period of missions in China may be said to open with the great Jesuit St. Francis Xavier. He himself never succeeded in reaching China, for when once his destination became known, the formidable wheels of opposition were set in motion by the Portuguese, and he could get no further than San-ch'uan, an island near Macao.* At this time, 1552, or soon after, Macao formed the chief point of contact between China and the West, for here the Portuguese had managed to establish a trading post. The city was of mixed population, and a *modus vivendi* had been reached whereby supreme control was vested in a Chinese mandarin, the Portuguese remaining primarily under the rule of a captain-general. These traders were from the start inimical to all missionary work, foreseeing danger to their business if any collision with the Imperial authorities should result from it.†

But the work attempted by Xavier was nevertheless continued. The great Society of which he was a member was alert and persistent, and in 1557 prevailed upon Paul IV to establish a bishopric in China with residence at Macao. By the bull of January 28, 1585, Gregory XIII entrusted the spiritual government of all China to the bishop of Macao, and the missionary care to the Jesuits, confirming, at the same time, the "Jus patronatus" to the King of Portugal.‡ The bull further prohibited, under grave

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* Cordier: *L'Arrivée des Portugais en Chine*, 61. † Jenkins: *The Jesuits in China*, 154. ‡ Ljungstedt: *Portuguese Settlements*, 181.

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penalties, the establishing of any missions in China except by the Jesuits. In 1600, by his bull *Onerosa*, Clement VIII modified the restrictions of Gregory XIII, allowing other orders to enter China, but, as the missionaries themselves understood it, this permission was limited to those coming by way of Goa and Lisbon.*

Obstacles were placed in the way of the Jesuits not only by the Portuguese. For years the Chinese were hostile, and to overcome this opposition the Jesuits fell back on Western scientific knowledge. It was by their high scholarship that the great leaders of the missionaries—Ricci, Schall, Verbiest—worked their way literally step by step to the capital and there entrenched themselves.† And there was still a third class opposed to them. The Dominicans and Franciscans had been prompt to avail themselves of Clement VIII's bull. On their arrival in China, however, they found the Jesuits (so they claimed) making scandalous compromises with the native religions, and they protested violently to the Pope.‡ This was the beginning of the famous dispute over the Chinese Rites which eventually was so disastrous to the China mission.

At first, however, the Jesuits were too strongly established in Peking to be affected seriously by it. In 1629 they were made the official correctors of the calendar ; in 1650 the first public Catholic church in the capital was dedicated ; while in 1664 Schall was confirmed in a high rank of mandarin. § By 1668, the Emperor K'ang Hsi was beginning to exercise his power, and as he had a strong bent for European sciences, he showed more and more favour to the missionaries. The astronomer Verbiest became his favourite, and was succeeded by the great Father Gerbillon. The latter, with the Portuguese Jesuit Pereira, the Emperor sent on a successful embassy to Russia to settle a boundary dispute. ¶ Wishing as a reward to show Gerbillon a particular mark of favour, he published on March 22, 1692, his great Edict of Toleration, permitting Christianity to be preached freely throughout the empire. ‖

Thus, in 1692, the China mission saw before it a rosy future. During the following fifty years, from 1692 to 1744, the Roman Catholic mission in China fell from a situation of power and in-

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* Perez : *Origen de las Missiones Franciscanas*, 131.

† Baddeley : *Father Matteo Ricci's Chinese World-maps*, 259. *Catholic Encyclopedia :* V, 11, "Schall."

‡ McCabe : *Candid History of the Jesuits*, 191.

§ *Catholic Encyclopedia :* V, 13, "Schall."

¶ Crétineau : *Histoire Religieuse - - - - de la Compagnie de Jésus*, V, 5

‖ Rohrbacher : *Histoire Universelle de l'Eglise Catholique*, XXVI, 616

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fluence to one of repression and proscription. These years divide naturally into three periods—the Golden Period (1692-1707); the Period of Suspicion (1707-1723); and the Period of Repression (1723-1744); and always we find evident three currents of influence: the Chinese, European powers, and the missionaries. By a consideration of the work of each of these influences in each period, we shall endeavour to show that *this decline was due to a lack of harmony among the missionaries and to a lack of tact towards the Chinese which inspired in the latter a fear of political interference on the part of the European powers sending out the missionaries.*

The Golden Period

1692-1707

The period between 1692 and 1744 was a tragic one for the China mission. But in 1692 there was little indication of this. The future looked bright; in that year K'ang Hsi issued his longed-for Edict of Toleration,* and on the whole the country was friendly. The tolerance of the Chinese can be traced in the general attitude of the three great divisions of the people—the mandarins, the people at large, and the Emperor.

I

Probably the most antagonistic of all classes were the mandarins. Covetous and grasping, their main aim seemed to be to squeeze money from the foreigners.† Yet they opened up the provinces fairly freely, for by 1700 the missionaries were established in Fukien, Shantung, Shansi, Shensi, Hupeh, Kuangtung, Kiangsi, Chekiang and Kiangnan.‡ Father Premare, in his letter of 1699 to the great Père La Chaise speaks of the partiality of the mandarin ruler of Macao for the French, adding that some of the Chinese nobles had even embraced Christianity.§ Typical of the nobility was the attitude of the Board of Rites. Composed of the most influential mandarins, and, next to the Emperor, the highest governing body of China, Gonzales describes it as hostile to the Law of God and to the missionaries.¶ But this same Board registered, with very slight opposition, the Edict allowing Christianity to be preached throughout the country.

Among the people at large there were, of course, wild rumours as to the horrible practices of the missionaries. Charges were

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* Appendix, I. † Gonzales: 193. ‡ Moidrey: *Hiérarchie Catholique*, 182. § *Lettres Edifiantes:* XVI, 362, 370. ¶ Gonzales: 298.

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made that they tore out the eyes of sick people ; that they bought their disciples with money ; that the two sexes were mixed together in secret meetings (a heinous offence against decency among the Chinese). Inevitably, they were accused of secretly fomenting a revolt in order to get possession of the Empire.* But the number of conversions shows that these slanders were not universal and, so far from closing the field to them, were not even interfering with a very decided progress. At the beginning of this period, the Société des Missions Etrangères recorded more than 30 ordained native priests, 300 catechists, and 40,000 baptisms.† During the first few years of the eighteenth century, the Catholics claimed that in the governor-generalship of Kiangnan and Kiangsi alone there were 100 churches and 100,000 converts.‡ Considering the fact that in the total period from 1580 to 1724 only about 500 missionaries were sent from Europe (i.e., less than an annual average of four individuals during a century and a half) § the people among whom such progress was made must surely have had an open mind. By 1703, Peking had three churches, while there were two beautiful ones in Canton and in Fochan.¶ The records of baptisms which Father Noel presented in 1703 read like reports of the present-day mass movements. In 1696 and 1697, Provana (at Kiang-chou, Kiangsi) is credited with more than 1,000 ; Simoens in Chintin with an equal number ; while in cities in which Christianity had been preached for some years the baptisms ranged from 1,100 to 1,200 annually.‖ Most of the converts were of the lower classes, for, as Noel says, the mandarins were very hard to convert, although they all admitted Christianity to be a most holy and reasonable religion, and honoured those who preached it.⁋ That the people generally during these years were cordial to the missionaries was certainly the belief of Premare, for he says frankly that there was no missionary who, knowing the language and attending strictly to business, could not with the help of catechists baptize from 400 to 500 Chinese each year.°

Strikingly noticeable was the fact that the most influential person in the kingdom, the Emperor, was the one most favourably disposed to the missionaries. When Father Gerbillon returned after his successful adjudication of the Russian boundary dispute, the Emperor made him head of the great Board of Mathematics,

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* *Lettres Edifiantes :* XVIII, 391, 392. † Launay : *Nos Missionnaires*, 34. ‡ Williams : *Middle Kingdom*, II, 303. *Lettres Edifiantes :* XVII, 161. § Williams : 305. ¶ *Lettres Edifiantes :* XVII, 165. ‖ Ibid. 169. ⁋ Ibid. 173. ° Ibid. XVI, 397

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and from that time forward K'ang Hsi showed signal favour to the Westerners. In 1697 he allowed Bouvet to return to France for more missionaries.* In January, 1699, he granted to Gerbillon permission to build in the palace enclosure, even naming mandarins to aid him in the work. † Indeed, according to Gonzales, the Jesuits claimed he went much further and ordered a large sum of money to be drawn from his exchequer to help build this church inside the august walls. ‡ It is indisputable that the church was built and in the palace grounds. The Dominican, however, is sceptical about the monetary aid of the Emperor, as, he says, for this statement we have only the authority of the Jesuits! However, he was prejudiced! K'ang Hsi's liberal attitude was even more plainly shown when Bouvet landed in China with his French companions, for he at once sent to the Jesuit a command to bring five of them to court. At the same time, he gave special orders that the other missionaries of the party should have entire liberty to go throughout the empire, preaching Christianity, and that the merchants should be permitted to establish a counter in Canton. § Moreover, when, in 1704, floods devastated Shantung, the Emperor, disgusted with the graft shown by his mandarins, turned all the relief work over into the control of the Jesuits.¶

K'ang Hsi, however, was himself too strong a character to be ruled by these favourites. During this period, the dispute concerning the Chinese Rites was growing steadily more acute. K'ang Hsi watched it for awhile, but naturally viewed it entirely from a political point of view. As Crétineau shrewdly observes, he had no intention of sacrificing the peace of his kingdom to Christianity,‖ and finally, on August 2, 1706, he called before him the leader of the disturbance, Maigrot, bishop of Conon. In this interview, having shown Maigrot's utter ignorance of Chinese, the Emperor said to him severely:

> "We honour Confucius as our master, thereby testifying our gratitude for the doctrine he has left us. We do not pray before the tablets of Confucius or of our ancestors for honour or happiness. These are the three points upon which you contend. If these opinions are not to your taste, consider that you must leave my empire. Those who have already em-

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* Crétineau: V, 55. Bouvet carried with him, according to Crétineau the forty-nine Chinese volumes forming the beginning of the present collection of the Bibliothèque Nationale.

† Jartoux to De Fontancy, in *Lettres Edifiantes*: XVIII, 6.

‡ Gonzales: 168.

§ Bouvet to La Chaise, in *Lettres Edifiantes*: XVI, 382.

¶ Jartoux to De Fontaney, in *Lettres Edifiantes*: XVIII, 28.

‖ Crétineau: V, 67.

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braced your religion, perceiving the perpetual conflicts that reign amongst you, begin to doubt its truth, and the others are rendered every day less disposed to embrace it. For myself I consider you to be persons who are come to China not to found or to establish your religion, but to break it down and destroy it. If it should come to nothing you can only impute it to yourselves."*

He then handed down his own decision on the disputed questions in permanent written form, and followed this by the Edict of December 30, 1706. This edict, which was published in a circular letter, banished Maigrot from the kingdom and ordered test questions to be applied to all missionaries: "Will you teach Christianity after the system and principles laid down by Father Ricci? or according to the definition of the Bishop of Conon?" † The edict proclaimed emphatically that "No European is to be allowed to remain in China unless he obtains letters patent from his Majesty; all who come afterwards must present themselves at Peking for the said letters,"‡ and naturally this patent was granted only to those agreeing with the decisions of Father Ricci and the Emperor on the disputed points.

II

Of the European countries, the most hostile to the missionaries, in fact the only one actively opposed to them, was Portugal. And even here opposition came more from the Portuguese in Macao than from those in Europe. Gonzales declaims against the worldly motives displayed by these traders in Macao, who proved ever the persecutors of the missionaries instead of their refuge and their support.§ That this was due at first to their fear of an upset in their trade relations is clear, but when they found the missionaries could not be completely excluded, a strong national feeling became evident. Portugal claimed the right of patronage in all the churches of the Far East by the bull of Alexander VI, and when Bouvet wished to return to China with the French candidates from the Société des Missions Etrangères, the Portuguese at once saw a national character in the party and raised the cry "aucun envoi de missionnaires français."¶ This resistance later included the Spanish missionaries, and resulted in a

* Jenkins: 92.

† Jenkins: 118. Walshe says that to this was added the requirement that the missionaries should express their determination of never returning to Europe, but he is the only authority I can find for this statement.

‡ Jenkins: 111, 112. § Gonzales: 193.

¶ Launay: 17.

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direct appeal from the Council of the Indies to the King of Spain. The Spaniards complained bitterly of the Portuguese attitude that "no one can engage in . . . conversions without the license of the ecclesiastical and secular powers of Portugal."* Moreover, in 1697, the Procurators of the Dominicans, Franciscans and Augustinians (Spanish) claimed that "the persecution is increasing with which the Portuguese missionaries afflict our Spanish, in trying to effect their expulsion from the kingdom."†

The Portuguese were not the only ones to see political and economic advantage in relations with China. The French were waking up to the situation, and Louis XIV, with his ministers Colbert and Louvois, understood thoroughly that the interests of France in the Far East could be well served by a French mission, even by one directly pursuing only a religious aim.‡ Louis, therefore, endeavoured to give to the Chinese mission a national stamp, and in this his wishes were strongly seconded by the French Jesuits in China.§ From the start, he sent out only men of the greatest calibre—such as Fontaney, Visdelou and Parennin. These men were charged to make investigations in astronomy and science (heretofore considered the domain of Portugal), and, most significant of all, to verify the maps of China.¶ To strengthen this national co-operation, when in 1703 the church in the palace enclosure was formally opened, the French king donated to its treasures a wonderful silver service and other rich presents.‖

Perhaps the European power which showed the least appreciation of the situation in China was the one most vitally concerned in it, i.e., the papacy. China was a vast country, rapidly opening up to missionary work, and in 1696 the Pope divided it into fourteen apostolic-vicariates—only fourteen.⁋ These divisions were too large for effective administration, especially as at this time the dispute concerning the Rites was waxing hot.

In this great controversy there were three points at issue: (*a*) Should the Chinese converts be allowed to render to Confucius worship required by law and, to all appearances, religious in character? (*b*) Should certain ceremonies in honour of ancestors be tolerated? (*c*) What Chinese term should be used to express the idea of God?° Ricci (a thorough Chinese scholar) had declared these ceremonies to be civil in nature, therefore to

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* Perez: 128. † Ibid: 131. ‡ Brucker: *La Mission de Chine de 1722 à 1735*, in *La Revue des Questions Historiques*, XXIX (1881), 492.

§ Crétineau: V, 51. ¶ Ibid: V, 55. ‖ Jartoux to De Fontaney, in *Lettres Edifiantes*: XVIII, 10. ⁋ Moidrey: 253. °Crétineau: V, 59.

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be tolerated ; and the Jesuits had followed his teaching. But in 1693, Bishop Maigrot, in his office of Vicar-General of Fukien, issued an ill-starred edict in regard to the term for the Deity, forbade the use of ancestral tablets, condemned Chinese philosophy (thus striking at Confucius), and prohibited the use of Chinese books in the Christian schools.* It must be remembered that two points of view actually existed in China. The Jesuits, in order to judge the sense of the religious words and the Chinese ceremonies went to the mandarins and the educated classes for instruction. The Dominicans and the Apostolic Vicars (such as Maigrot) rested their interpretation on popular tradition and the superstitious practices introduced by the Bonzes. It was on account of these ceremonies, to which the Chinese were invincibly attached, that there arose the accusations against the converts of idolatry or apostacy. Yet not to suffer these ceremonies, which the élite of the nation had pronounced purely civil in nature, was, in the eyes of the Jesuits, to expose the mission to inevitable shipwreck. †

After Maigrot's edict, the Jesuits appealed to Rome, but the Pope was far from appreciating the true seriousness of the situation. Perhaps with the idea that the controversy would wear itself out, he delayed answering until 1701. ‡ This was fatal, as it gave time to the parties in China to become violent and irreconcilable. The Dominicans were particularly fervid for the purity of the Faith ; but in a letter to the Congregation of the Propaganda, the Bishop of Ascalon declared in 1707 the sentiment of most of the Augustinian and Franciscan missionaries to be the same as that of the Jesuits.§ At last Clement XI endeavoured to clear up the situation, and appointed Charles Maillard de Tournon his legate *a latere.*¶

De Tournon was well esteemed in Europe, and although of a nervous, imperious disposition was capable of winning deep devotion from those with whom he came in contact. But Clement's

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* Jenkins : 22-26.

† Crétineau : V, 56. The following quotation from a recent missionary periodical is interesting as showing that the general principle here involved is still a matter of dispute.

"Would it not be, therefore, a wise missionary policy to incorporate as much of the accustomed native ritual and ceremony as possible into the Indian Christian's life, realizing that although certain things might come perilously near retaining old beliefs, yet that the risk was justified, when it was considered how sound was the principle, psychologically at any rate, of calling a convert gradually out of darkness into light?" H. S. Kerridge, of India, in *The East and The West*, January, 1919, p.39.

‡ Jenkins: 38. § Rohrbacher: 633. ¶ Jenkins: 38.

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lack of appreciation of the parties involved was shown by appointing this man to China with such wide powers at this time. Besides the actual missionary tangle, two elements in the situation complicated affairs—the Portuguese national pride and jealousy of their rights; and Chinese customs and prejudices. De Tournon's blind devotion to the papacy led him, as the Pope's representative, to ignore all national or international claims made by Portugal; while, to an intensely proud, self-centred nation revering age both in man and customs, the Pope was sending a young man of only thirty-four years, with hardly even an elementary knowledge of the usages of China, and absolutely no knowledge of the language.†

III

The missionaries themselves during this period thought the future rosy. As has been said, however, they were dividing more and more sharply into two factions. Of these, those powerful at court were headed by the Jesuits under the leadership of the Portuguese Father Pereira. This ensured the Portuguese political support, to which might be added that of the French on account of Father Gerbillon. Moidrey points out in this connection that

> "il faut distinguer la mission portugaise, érigée en vice-province en 1623 et qui reconnaissait le patronat du roi Très-fidèle, et la mission française, . . . avec ses supérieurs distincts, sous la protection du roi Très chrétien. La vice-province a eu des membres de presque toutes les nationalités; elle a toujours eu plus de maisons." ‡

The Jesuits had three Churches in Peking, besides a Church for women which the ladies of the city were especially zealous in ornamenting with their jewels.¶ It is doubtful whether this Church had much influence, since Ripa tells us that it was only open once in six months; § yet that it was allowed in the capital at all is significant. In the two great governing bodies (The Board of Rites and the Board of Mathematics) the Jesuits were influential. Gerbillon himself was the head of the latter, while several times they had been able to bring to bear enough pressure on the Board of Rites to have registered a decision favourable to them. As one instance of this might be cited their securing the church at Nimpo, through the authority of the Board, despite the op-

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* Jenkins: 66. † Moidrey: 187.

‡ Noel: *Mémoire sur l'Etat des Missions de la Chine*, in *Lettres Edifiantes*: XVII, 162. § Ripa: *Memoirs during thirteen Years' Residence at the Court of Pekin*, 96.

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position of the Viceroy of the Province.* Mention has already been made of the great favour shown to them by the Emperor. Both Ripa and Jartoux call attention to K'ang Hsi's public assertion that during the whole of his reign the missionaries at Peking had committed no fault deserving even a reprimand†—a statement to be accepted cautiously.

One great element of strength in the position of the Jesuits among the other missionaries was their distance from the Pope. At the very time that they were hounding the Jansenists in Europe for disobedience to the papacy, they were showing themselves contumacious in the China mission. The Spanish Franciscans pointed out that the Jesuits ignored the revocations of Sixtus V and Paul V as to the missionary control of China ; ‡ while perhaps the most flagrant act of disobedience was to be found in their toleration of Father Porquet. In 1706, this Jesuit at Canton issued three propositions, deemed "shocking" by the horrified Father Gonzales. The second of these is the frank declaration that "Le pape ne peut dêfinir infailliblement les controverses de la Chine." §

However strong the Jesuits may have considered themselves, however favoured they were by the Chinese, this Golden Period was one of continuous attack on them by the other Catholics. De Tournon, coming to China as a result of the insistence of the Dominicans, in order to settle a dispute, found conditions very bad. The partisans of the Jesuits and the partisans of the Bishop of Conon divided the country very neatly into two camps ; and de Tournon, who had from the start antagonized the Portuguese by utterly refusing to admit that a papal legate should be bound by any right of the Portuguese king, soon found the Jesuits under the patronage of the latter blocking him in every way. To be sure, having stopped at Malabar on the way out, and being scandalized by the Jesuit practices there, he arrived in China prejudiced against them. The arbitrary style which he adopted did not tend to smooth over matters, and his investigations of the charges of misconduct brought against them the Jesuits took as a direct declaration of war.¶ De Tournon had his first interview with the Emperor on December 31, 1705. This, of course, had to be arranged for through the medium of the court missionaries and, all things considered, it is hardly a matter of wonder that the Legate considered the whole affair staged by the Portuguese

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* Goville, in *Revue de l'Extrême-Orient :* III, 26.
† Ripa : 110. *Lettres Edifiantes :* XVIII, 24.
‡ Perez : 131. § Gonzales : 182. ¶ Jenkins : 66.

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Jesuits as an exhibition of the influence of the Fathers rather than as a complimentary recognition of the Pope through his representative.* His own utter ignorance of the Chinese language greatly discredited him with K'ang Hsi, and he felt that this had been emphasized by the active hostility of the Jesuit interpreter during the interview. It must be remembered that de Tournon was the representative of the Supreme Head of the Catholic Church, and when the Jesuit Porquet, apparently with the tacit consent of the other Jesuits in China, declared that "Les missionnaires ne sont point obligez d'obéir au Mandement de M. le Patriarche sur ces controverses," † he openly pronounced the order in China insubordinate.

Of the other orders, the Dominicans were the most bitter against the Jesuits. With all, the most serious disagreement was concerning the Rites, and the horror of the Dominicans was especially aroused by Porquet's first proposition, as issued in Canton, viz. :

"Celui qui dit que les âmes des défunts se reposent sur les tablettes, ne pêche point contre la foi."‡

Yet up to 1707, as the king of Portugal is expressly told, most of the Augustinians and Franciscans agreed with the Jesuits,§ whose help they both needed and claimed. The door in China was by that time open to all orders as to the Jesuits, to the half contemptuous annoyance of the latter. Perhaps the others were not very skilful in their use of this liberty, for, in October of 1703, Father Goville wrote :

> "M. Basset, nommé provicaire apostolique par M. de Lyonne, a, dit-on, bien des affaires dans le Yunnan, affaires avec les Chrétiens, affaires avec les mandarins. M. Appiani, missionnaire italien de la Propagande en a aussi de son côté . . . Ils seront ensuite obligés, selon leur coutume, d'avoir recours aux PP. de Pekin pour pacifier les troubles." ¶

But the Jesuits were criticized by their fellow-missionaries for more than their attitude in respect to the Terms and ancestor worship. They were openly charged with usury and worse. Jenkins cannot find that they made any defense against the accusation of the Franciscan Fra Michele Fernandez that they let their houses for base purposes in order to obtain more money for them.‖ McCabe, who is prejudiced against them, accuses them of having charged 24 per cent. interest on loans ; but even

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* Jenkins : 53. † Gonzales : 182. ‡ Gonzales : 182. § Rohrbacker : 633.
¶ Goville, in *Revue de l'Extrême-Orient* : III, 27. ‖ Jenkins : 161.

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Jenkins speaks of their trade in wine and tobacco, their lucrative business as money-lenders, and their concern about their real and personal property in China.* Jenkins has made a very thorough study of this situation, the result of which he sums up as follows :

> "It cannot be denied . . . that the Jesuit mission had become not only the centre of political intrigues, but of a commercial and even sordid traffic with the ignorant natives, in which the financial skill of the Fathers was more conspicuous than their zeal for the cause of Christianity."†

Perhaps, however, the critics would have done well to sweep before their own door, for Ripa, arriving in 1706, caustically remarks :

> "I may here take occasion to observe that, if our European missionaries in China would conduct themselves with less ostentation, and accommodate their manners to persons of all ranks and conditions, the number of converts would be immensely increased,"‡

and he continues with strictures on their "lofty, pompous" manner, their "garments of rich material," and their luxurious living, "with a few honourable exceptions."

It is to be noted, therefore, that during this Golden Period China showed a friendly, open mind to the missionaries, promising a goodly future. Yet in this same period are to be found the seeds of disruption, sown by inharmonious conduct among the Orders, and by tactless behaviour towards the Chinese on the part of the Pope, his representative, and the missionaries in China.

The Period of Suspicion

1707-1723

Towards the end of the Golden Period a change in the attitude of China was evident. The perpetual disputes among the missionaries were closely followed by the watchful Chinese, and their conclusions fairly well summed up by the Emperor K'ang Hsi in his censure of the Bishop of Conon quoted above.

> "Those who have already embraced your religion, perceiving the perpetual conflicts that reign amongst you, begin to doubt its truth, and the others are rendered every day less disposed to embrace it."§

I

The first among the Chinese to reflect this change were the mandarins. When those of Kwei-chow learned of the displeasure

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* Ibid : 158. † Ibid : 52. ‡ Ripa : 43. § Jenkins : 92.

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of the Emperor with Maigrot and de Tournon, anticipating that all Europeans would be banished from China, they insisted on the withdrawal of Le Couteux from that province. As the missionary himself notes, however, they were careful to reimburse him for the house which he had just bought.* Even those missionaries provided with the Imperial permission were continually molested, the mandarins making a point of having them come to the tribunals to show their patents; and this, in China, was sufficient to put anyone in an equivocal position.†

In 1711, a memorial directly attacking Christianity was presented to the Emperor by Fan Chao-tso, a censor of the Empire. He seems to have been exasperated by the refusal of his daughter-in-law (a neophyte of the French Jesuits) to worship the ancestral tablets. The memorial was a bitter attack on Christian doctrines and customs as being contrary to the ancient and honourable usage of China, and was published broadcast through the province of Shansi.‡ To the dismay of the missionaries, the Emperor sent it to the Board of Rites. Nothing serious resulted, as Fan had the poor judgement to meddle several days later with some plans for dykes which the Emperor had drawn up; and, in his disgust, the latter branded the censor as an ignoramus. This characterization the missionaries took pains to make known to the Board.§ It was significant, however, that at the end of the affair, the Emperor sent four mandarins to the missionaries, warning them to be on their guard against giving the least advantage to their enemies by any indiscrete action, either by themselves or their converts.¶

Much more serious was the memorial presented in 1716 by Ching Mow, the military mandarin of Canton. He represented that the foreign trade and the propagation of the Christian religion were highly detrimental to the Empire.‖ This memorial was first sent to the Military Board, and by them referred to the Board of Rites.

The attitude of the Board of Rites during this period is interesting. Their judgement on the memorial of 1711, greatly influenced by the Emperor's wrath against the mandarin presenting it, stated that the Europeans had fixed their residence in China with his Majesty's positive permission, that they had rendered themselves useful to the Empire in the formation of the calendar, the manufacture of arms, the war against the Muscovites, and in numerous other ways; and that, as they had never offended against anyone, it would not be right to forbid to them the use of their

* Le Couteux, *in Revue de l'Extrême Orient:* III, 36. † Ibid: 34. ‡ D'Entrecolles to De Broissia, in *Lettres Edifiantes:* XVIII, 403. § Ibid: 397-402. ¶ Ibid: 402. ‖ Ripa: 92.

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own religion on the mere assertion that it was false ; that those who were furnished with the imperial patent should not be molested, and that those who had none might be banished to Macao.* Their real attitude is more truly seen when, at the request of the Jesuits, the Emperor ordered the names of the Europeans who had received the patent to be sent throughout all the provinces. The tribunal obeyed the order, but dismayed the missionaries by publishing also the names of those who had been banished, thus officially confirming to the people what had hitherto been rumoured only, namely that the anger of the Emperor had been aroused against some of the missionaries.†

In answer to Ching's memorial of 1716, however, the Board came out from under cover, and ordered that Canton should be closed against the foreigners, the Christian religion prohibited, all Christians imprisoned and the churches demolished.‡

The mandarins certainly had reason at times to feel exasperated. Jartoux gives a typical little incident in which the missionaries at the court refused to do some welding because one of them thought he had seen somewhere a picture resembling the instrument needed, representing it to have something to do with idol worship. The court mandarins assured them many times to the contrary, the Emperor's son assured them to the contrary, but not until the Emperor himself intervened would they continue the work. The prince, we are told, was very angry, yet not one word did he let fall against Christianity. He vented his anger on the missionaries, exclaiming : "On ne blâme pas votre attachement à votre religion, mais on blâme avec raison votre entêtement sur les choses que vous ne sçavez pas."§

The growing suspicion and dislike were also reflected by the people at large. In Shantung, in 1709, the Franciscans were insulted, and one imprisoned.¶ D'Entrecolles mentions numerous persecutions and difficulties endured by the converts as evidence of the unpopularity of Christianity,‖ and there was a constant confusion "through malice or misunderstanding" between those having the patent, and those without it. That the tribunals were in no hurry to clear up these misapprehensions is evident from the trial of Father Bayard. Arrested by mistake, and falsely accused of not having the patent, his trial passed through various tribunals, and dragged along for over two months, to the

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*Ripa: 81. †Le Couteux, in *Revue de l'Extrême-Orient:* III, 34. ‡Ripa: 92. §Jartoux to De Fontaney, in *Lettres Edifiantes:* XVIII, 18. ¶Le Couteux, in *Revue de l'Extrême Orient:* III, 34. ‖D'Entrecolles to De Broissia, in *Lettres Edifiantes:* XVIII, 368.

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great detriment of Christianity's standing in the Empire.* The Chinese officers were very zealous, and represented the resistance of some converts to the Emperor's commands in regard to the Chinese rites as showing a tendency on the part of the new religion to undermine the Emperor's authority.†

Even K'ang Hsi, to whom the missionaries had long been accustomed to look for support, was growing cautious. Although by no means closing the country to them, he yet insisted on the Imperial Patent. On the declaration of the Board of Rites in 1711 banishing to Macao all those not furnished with it he wrote with his own hand, "I approve." ‡ He waited some time before answering their protest against the decision of 1716, thereby rendering the missionaries very uneasy. His answer, when it came, was satisfactory, for he decreed that the commerce of Canton should be reopened, and the suppression of Christianity suspended, but he gave as his reason that "His Majesty is invariably true to his word, and never abrogates what he has once decreed." § We know that about 1712 the Emperor ordered the Viceroy at Canton to ferret out news from the European vessels, as he suspected the missionaries of concealing information from him.¶ Furthermore, that he had no intention of resigning any of his authority to the Pope is evident in his treatment of Mezzabarba. This legate, arriving in 1720 with the distinct purpose of enforcing the Pope's decision on the rites as opposed to the Emperor's, found himself utterly unable to secure any concession from the latter.‖ Why, indeed, asked K'ang Hsi, should he give over to a foreigner any of his authority over his subjects ?

K'ang Hsi, it will be remembered, valued the missionaries for their scientific attainments. He, therefore, ordered them to make a map of China, which work occupied three of them from 1708 to 1718.⁂ But he did not trust them very far. In the case of Korea and Tibet they were not allowed to make the survey themselves, but had to use the mandarins and lamas they had previously instructed.° The mandarins everywhere were charged to entertain and help the missionaries, yet, in reality, this was merely a ruse to keep the latter under constant surveillance. Consistently, K'ang Hsi refused to grant to them permission to go near any of the borders.°°

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* Le Couteux, in *Revue de l'Extrême-Orient :* III, 33. † Williams : II, 304. ‡ Ripa : 81. § Ibid : 93. ¶ Contancin, in *Revue de l'Extrême-Orient :* III, 43. ‖ Ljungstedt : 175. ⁂ Brucker : 497. ° Ripa : 65. °° Brucker : 505.

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Perhaps this Emperor's attitude is best summed up as cautious. His frank distrust of the power and designs of the West is clearly indicated in his written advice to his successors :

> " Les Oross (Muscovites), Hong-mao (Anglais ou Hollandais), Foulanki (Français, Portugais, Espagnols)... viennent à bout de tout ce qu'ils entreprennent, quelque difficulté qu'il y ait ; ils sont intrépides, habiles, et profitent de tout. Tant que je règnerai, il n'y à rien à craindre d'eux pour la Chine. Je les traite bien, ils m'aiment et cherchent à me faire plaisir... Mais si notre gouvernement devient faible, si on manque d'attention sur les Chinois des provinces du midi... que deviendra notre empire ? " *

II

The causes of this change in the attitude of the Chinese were scarcely appreciated by the Europeans. In Macao, the Portuguese followed the lead of the Portuguese Jesuits in Peking, and literally persecuted to death the Cardinal Legate de Tournon. He had not come to China by way of Lisbon, nor had his appointment been approved by the King of Portugal, but as the Pope'-representative he claimed authority over all Christians in China. Thus he ran counter to the *Jus patronatus*, conferred upon Portuguese kings by successive popes. The Captain-General of Macao at this time, Don Diego Teyxeira, was, unfórtunately for de Tournon, a fanatical upholder of this right of patronage.† When the legate, therefore, returned to Macao, in 1707, Don Diego promptly imprisoned him, and proceeded to make this imprisonment more and more harsh. Indeed, the indignities to which de Tournon was subjected seem to have aroused the sympathy of the Chinese officials. For the Chinese governor of the district, on being asked by the Procurator of Macao to remove the Chinese servants of the Legate, refused, charging them instead to serve de Tournon faithfully.‡ It was during this imprisonment that the party of which Ripa was a member arrived at Macao, carrying with them the Cardinal's hat sent to de Tournon by Clement XI.§

Russia also seemed blind to this change of attitude. In 1720, the Russian Count Ismailof came to Peking to conclude a commercial treaty with the Chinese. Apparently he felt that the missionaries were very powerful. Although almost insolent

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* Brucker : 503, quoting from unpublished document of Père Gaubil : *Reflections of Kang-hi.* †Jenkins : 123. ‡Jenkins : 137. §Ripa : 32.

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to the Emperor in his refusal to bow to Chinese customs, he seemed anxious to curry favour with the Jesuits. Ripa had by this time become one of the court interpreters, and it is he who reports the eulogy pronounced by K'ang Hsi to Ismailof on the missionaries,* "in order," he explains, "by making our good qualities known, to palliate anything of a contrary nature."† The French Jesuits entertained the Count with a sumptuous feast and music, followed by dances and sleight-of-hand. ‡

But of the European powers again the one who most damaged the mission was the Pope. Clement XI, by the bull *Ex illa die* of 1715, supported de Tournon's decision in regard to the Rites, and thereby placed himself squarely in opposition to the Emperor. § K'ang Hsi insisted on having his own decision subscribed to before granting to any missionary the permission to reside in China ; but by this Bull, no European missionary could go to China without subscribing to a formula in which he promised fully and entirely to obey the orders of Clement XI upon these ceremonies, and to observe these injunctions without any reservation. ¶

The Bull was taken to China by the Patriarch Legate Mezzabarba, a polished politician. His embassy took a distinctly political turn, for John V of Portugal, anxious for the Pope to grant investiture to the three elect bishops of Macao, Nanking, and Peking, caused the court of Lisbon to bear the expenses of the Patriarch from Lisbon to China ; and the Senate those of the Legate, his retinue and attendants, not only during their stay in China, but also on their return journey to Europe. ‖ With this Portuguese backing, few difficulties were put in the way of Mezzabarba's interview with the Emperor. All went smoothly until he stated that he had come to China to submit the decision of his Holiness concerning the rites. ⁋ Finding the Emperor immovable, he quietly accepted the inevitable, and in 1721 returned to Europe.

Before leaving the country, however, "for the sake of saving religion from being banished," he used his power as papal representative to modify the bull *Ex illa die* by eight "permissions." These very nearly nullified the Bull. Although given in good faith, to save the mission, they were one of the heaviest blows dealt it. The controversy now flared out anew, with three parties : those holding with the Jesuits, those with the Pope, and those with the Pope's representative. So exercised over these permis-

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* *Ubi supra.* †Ripa : 111. ‡Ibid : 113. §Ljungstedt : 176.
¶Williams : 304. ‖Ljungstedt : 194. ⁋Williams : II, 303.

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sions were some of the orders that they sent Castorani (a Franciscan, and vicar of the bishop of Peking) to Rome, to protest to the Pope. *

III

There is no doubt that some, at least, of the missionaries appreciated the growing danger in which they stood. In 1709, Le Couteux wrote: "Jamais la mission, mon cher Père, et les Jésuites de Chine en particulier, n'ont eu plus besoin de secours du ciel, que ces trois ou quatre dernières années."† The Jesuits at Peking were quick to feel the subtle change in the atmosphere and hardly needed to have it pointed out to them by K'ang Hsi's warning to act discreetly. ‡ They still were powerful at court, and were employed continually by K'ang Hsi, but that they had lost some of their influence even with him was evident at the death of Father Gerbillon. Despite the fact the Jesuit had been his close friend, the Emperor departed from his usual custom and gave no orders for a special funeral. It would have seemed discreet, under the circumstances, to have minimized the differences between themselves, but instead the French and Portuguese Jesuits at Peking obstinately resisted all efforts of the Emperor to unite them in one society.§

Nor were the missionaries at Macao much more politic. On his way thither on January 20, 1707, de Tournon issued a charge to all missionaries in which he required them

> "to give a distinct negative on all the questions which formed the Imperial test, to abjure all the rites and observances which the Chinese laws enjoined—the sacrifices to Confucius and to their ancestors, the tablets for the dead—and to declare the incompatibility of all these doctrines and practices with the Christian law."¶

After thus throwing down the gauntlet to the Emperor, he proceeded to a bitter war with the Bishop of Macao. This Bishop (Johannes de Cazal) was also a Privy Councillor, and managed to secure the support of the Archbishop of Goa, the Metropolitan of the Portuguese Indies. On June 5, 1707, Cazal sent out a pastoral letter, enclosing one from the Archbishop of Goa, in which the latter forbade the Catholics in China to recognize the Legate. The reason given was that the Archbishop, as Primate of All Asia through the patronage of His Portuguese Majesty, claimed the power which de Tournon was arrogating to himself.‖

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* Ljungstedt: 176. † *Revue de l'Extrême Orient*: III, 32. ‡ *Ubi supra*.
§ Ripa: 125. ¶ Jenkins: 120. ‖ Gonzales: 174.

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The Bishop of Macao, therefore, was endeavouring to undermine de Tournon's position by challenging his Legatine credentials.* De Tournon promptly replied by excommunicating the Bishop,† whereupon the Bishop posted a monitory on the very door of the Legate's residence, exhorting the latter to revoke his censures within three days under pain of excommunication, and to exhibit to his diocesan the proofs of his legation.‡ To add to the general feeling of good-fellowship,in 1708 the imprisoned Cardinal Legate issued a decree forbidding any Superior, even of the Company of Jesus, to enter into his charge, or to go to or from his mission without his, de Tournon's, permission. This was diametrically opposed to the constitution of the Jesuits, and they therefore ignored it.§ It was probably they, however, who inspired the edict issued that same year ordering the cessation of all communication between the Cardinal and the Chinese mandarins; requiring also all missionaries coming to court for the patent to be first vouched for by the Jesuit Father Ozorio. Ozorio was to be held responsible for their conduct in regard to the Chinese rites.¶ As a final exhibition of tact and forbearance towards the Chinese, de Tournon named Philibert Leblanc vicar apostolic of Che-kiang, although the Emperor had expelled Leblanc from China for not having the patent.‖

De Tournon died in 1710, and after his death, a letter reached China which the Pope had sent to the Emperor in his care. Fearful lest it should still further irritate K'ang Hsi, Cordeira (the Legate's executor) and the ecclesiastics of Macao suppressed it for two years. Arrested then by the Portuguese on the charge of being "gens contraires aux ordres et intentions du Roy de Portugal," Cordeira finally sent the letter to the Viceroy, in the hopes of securing release thereby, and it was by him forwarded to the Emperor. In this letter, among other things, the Pope excused the Cardinal, and begged the Emperor to revoke any severe edicts he might have issued against the missionaries.⁂ Under the circumstances, one is inclined to agree with Contancin in regard to its publication: "C'estoit beaucoup exposer la Religion et les missionnaires, mais ces Messieurs ne doutent de rien."

Throughout the country, the missionaries found themselves in an awkward position. If they subscribed to the Emperor's formula they challenged the doctrine of Papal infallibility;

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* Jenkins: 123. † *Ibid*: 127. ‡ Williams: II, 303. § Le Couteux, in *Revue de l'Extrême Orient*: III, 35. ¶ Gonzales: 296. ‖ Moidrey: 154. ⁂ Contancin, in *Revue de l'Extrême Orient*: III, 44-46.

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if they did not so subscribe, they automatically were banished from their field of labour.* The outlook was serious, as by the end of this period they were responsible for 300,000 converts.† Many of the friars argued that the decision about the rites was too important to be decided by anything less than a general council. ‡ Others made liberal use of Mezzabarba's " permissions." Even Gaubil, however, admitted the uselessness of this latter course :

> " Les Lettrés et gens en place qui voudraient se faire chrétiens nous quittent dès lors que selon les ordres du Souverain-Pontife nous leur publions les décrets, même avec les permissions que laissa M. le patriarche Mezzabarba." §

The following picture, drawn by the Jesuit le Couteux, vividly portrays the situation :—

> " . . . à vous parler franchement, jamais la religion, ni ses ministres ne se relevèrent, tant dans l'esprit du prince que parmi les mandarins et le peuple, du tort que leur ont fait les affaires arrivées depuis ces trois ou quatre dernières années. Le nom Européen est tombé à la Cour dans un mépris dont je n'ose vous dire la cause : l'Empereur a perdu infiniment de l'estime qu'il avait pour l'Europe ; de luy, cela a passé aux grands de la Cour, et de là dans les provinces ou nous nous sommes vus tout d'un coup tombés pour la considération et la confiance que les mandarins avoient auparavant pour les missionnaires . . . Les Pères de la Cour ont à présent de la peine à trouver des recommandations pour les missionnaires des provinces, et sans ces recommandations il est impossible de s'y soutenir contre l'aversion et le mépris que la nation chinoise a toujours pour les étrangers." ¶

In this period therefore, by their wrangles among themselves, the missionaries brought Christianity into disrepute with the observant Chinese. By tactless insistence on regarding the authority of the Pope as superior to that of the Emperor in China itself they strengthened the suspicion of a political animus on their part.

[*To be concluded*].

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*Jenkins: 111. †Williams: II, 304. ‡Ljungstedt: 194. §Brucker: 501. ¶ Le Couteux, in *Revue de l'Extrême Orient :* III, 38.

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HOW TO USE THE CHINESE ABACUS OR "SUAN-P'AN" (算盤).

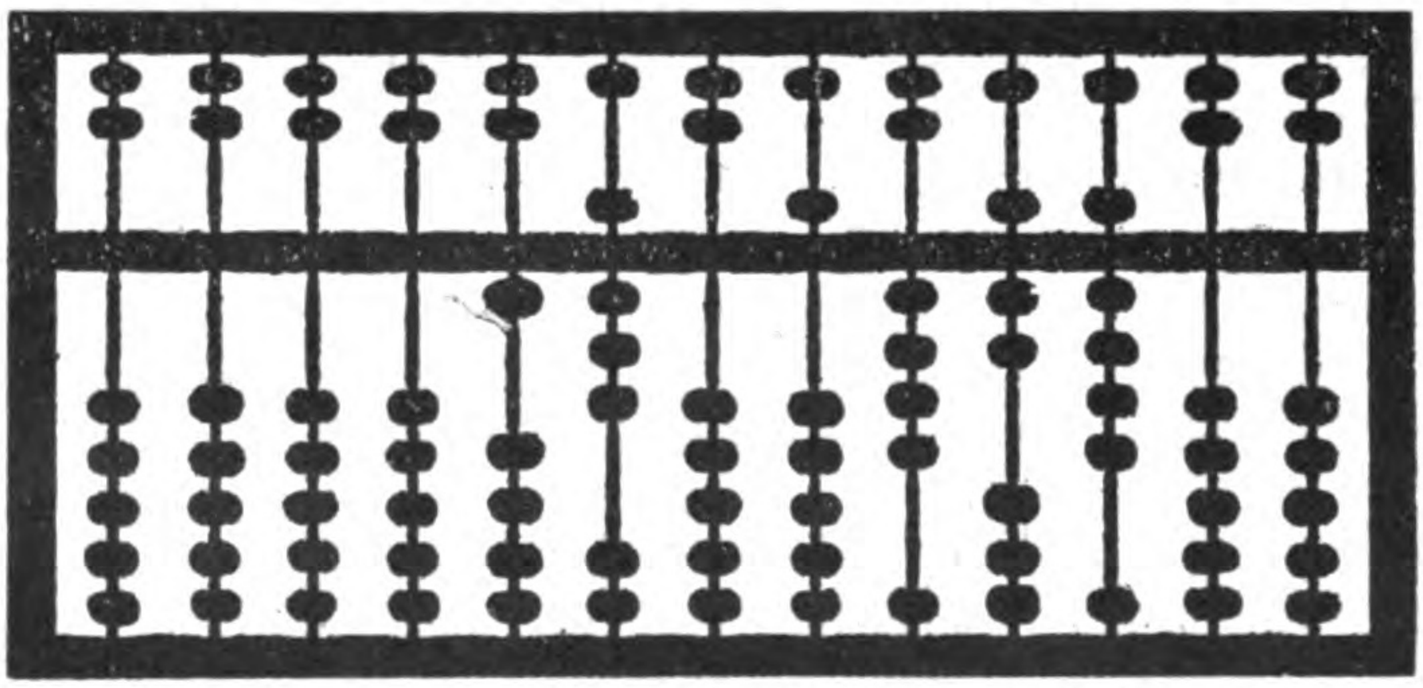
BY

MAIYING YOMING KWAUK.

The following notes on the use of the Suan-P'an have been prepared by a member of the staff of the Huangpu Conservancy Board, Mr. Kwauk, and will probably be of general interest to all those who have seen the facility with which the Chinese use the instrument, as well as serving to revise the erroneous notion that the abacus is only suitable in kindergarten schools for teaching arithmetical notation.—HERBERT CHATLEY.

* * *

Since Westerners in China, especially those in close contact with natives using this instrument, are often found interested in knowing about the Chinese abacus or "Suan-P'an," I take pleasure in writing this paper to explain rudimentarily the principles governing the use of this calculating instrument. I hope that it will prove to be useful to them as it does to Chinese, especially for addition and subtraction.



The figure shown above is one-fourth the actual size of a common abacus, but, in order to make it clearer, the beads have been drawn still smaller. In reality, the beads on each rod are close to each other and to the partition or the upper or the lower edge, and the space between those on the adjacent rods is much smaller than that shown.

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HOW TO USE THE CHINESE ABACUS OR "SUAN-P'AN"

Construction of the Instrument.—It is constituted of three parts, viz:, the frame, the rods, and the beads. The frame is usually made of wood with a longitudinal partition bar at about one-third the height from the upper edge, and a smooth plate at the back. The rods are ordinary slender cylindrical bamboo sticks. Sometimes they are made of brass. The usual number of the rods is 9, 11, 13, 15 or 17. The beads are perforated balls of blackwood or of any other hard wood, very rarely of ivory or bone, running on the rods.

Each rod has five beads below the partition bar and two above. The length of the rod is, however, made greater then the aggregate thickness of the seven beads and the partition bar, by about two beads' thickness in each segment. The surfaces of the rods and of the holes in the beads are made very smooth so that the beads can slide on the rod easily.

Notation.—When in use, the instrument is always placed horizontally as shown in the above figure.

Of the five beads on one rod below the partition bar, each signifies one unit, and of the two above, on the same rod, each signifies five (5) units. The beads on any one rod represent a value ten (10) times as great as do the corresponding ones on the next rod to the right. Only those beads moved close to the partition bar are counted as digits (excluding 0), the rest at the upper and lower edges are considered as noughts. The values of the beads are additive one to another.

In addition or subtraction, any space between the rods can be taken as the decimal line, provided that the same space is adhered to throughout the whole operation in each case. In multiplication or division, it is not always simple to have the decimal place of the result mechanically indicated by the beads. Even for addition or subtraction alone, it is not practicable to have the decimal line in all cases fixed at any particular place on the abacus.

Illustration.—Let the space between the 3rd and 4th rods from the right be taken as the decimal line; the beads on the 4th rod of the abacus shown in the fore-going figure represent, then, seven (7) as the beads close to the partition bar are only two below and one above that bar, i.e., two "ones" and one "five," and the one at the top and three at the bottom should be considered as zeros. Those on the 5th rod represent 40, as the beads on this rod signify ten times as great as those on the 4th one do. 500 is shown on the 6th rod; zeros on the 7th; 80,000 on the 8th; 100,000 on the 9th; and 0.9 on the 3rd as it is at the right of the

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decimal line. The numerical value that the figure shows is therefore 180,547.9.

This notation is, however, adapted only to the right-handed abacus operator. For a left-handed one, the order of the places should be reversed, i.e., with the position of the decimal line assumed unchanged the above exampled beads should be read as 9.745,081 instead of 180,547.9

Manipulation.—Whereas it is easy to move the beads at random up and down on the rod with any one of the ten fingers, the following rules enable one to operate the abacus expeditiously :—

Rule 1. Use only one hand, either the right or the left.

It is not the practice for every abacus operator to use his left hand. The writer can use either hand, but more frequently the right. Naturally, it is easier to train the right hand than the left, and, hence, the former is recommended. The advantage claimed by the left-handed operator is that it will not disturb the engagement of the right hand which can be used for writing, while performing the calculation with the left.

Rule 2. Use the thumb to lift the beads below the partition bar, and the fore-finger to lower them ; and use the middle-finger exclusively for both lifting and lowering the upper two beads.

Operations.

Addition.—Assuming a space between the rods for the decimal line, put the beads in such a position that they will represent one of the addends. Approach to the partition bar a set of the beads representing another one of the addends ; then another set of the beads for the third addend ; and so on. When all the addends have been added, the resulting position of the beads will show the amount wanted.

Subtraction.—Place the beads to represent the minuend, from which take away from the partition bar sets of the beads representing the subtrahends, respectively, and the result shows the difference required.

Multiplication.—Set the multiplicand on the abacus ; multiply mentally the second figure of the multiplier by the last digit of the multiplicand, and put this partial product on the abacus at the position two places right of that digit ; then the 3rd figure by the same digit, then the 4th, etc., and put these partial products in the proper order after the first partial product ; finally that of the first figure of the multiplier by the said last digit is put on, and at the same time that digit is taken off. The partial products of the next last digit of the multiplicand by the multiplier are put on in the exactly same manner as just

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described for the last digit; and so of the others. The result will show the relative positions and values of the figures of the required product, but not the position of the decimal point which is generally to be determined mentally.

Division.—Put the dividend on the instrument; find the integral number of times that the first figure of the divisor is contained in the first two digits of the dividend; let this integral number take the place of the first digit of the dividend on the abacus, multiply that number by the remaining figures of the divisor and subtract this product (really, this product is composed of the partial products of the remaining figures of the divisor) from the partial dividend headed by the remainder of the one-place division. This gives the first figure of the required quotient and the remainder left. By proceeding in the same manner, the second, the third, etc., figures of the quotient sought can be obtained.

Evolution.—With the number of the rods greatly increased, evolution can be performed with this instrument practically in the same way as with the pen. For higher mathematical work, the ancient Chinese mathematicians employed tallies to supplement the abacus. To extract a square root of few figures, I have, however, found that it is more convenient and expeditious, with this instrument, to use the following process rather than the ordinary one. It is based on the same principle that is used to perform this operation with the American "Marchant" calculating machine.

Set the given number on the abacus, and split it into pairs. From the first pair or the oddment as the case may be, subtract, successively, the numbers 1, 3, 5, 7, etc., until the remainder is not great enough to be subtracted again. For safety, put on the extreme left column of the abacus the number of the times that these subtrahends have been applied. This number will be the first digit of the figures wanted. Subtract from the second pair and the remainder of the first, the sums of 20 times that first number plus 1, 3, 5, 7, etc.; and put the new number of the operations on the next left column. And so on for the succeeding numbers. Half the sum of the last subtrahend plus 1, is the square root sought, and should be the same as shown on the left columns of the abacus.

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THE ORIGINAL HIEROGLYPHIC SYSTEMS

BY

THE REV. H. W. WHITE, D.D.

Alphabets and scripts are all traceable back to hieroglyphs, bird-track writing, as the Chinese call them. Of the hieroglyphic systems five have heretofore been considered as self-derived and independent, viz., Egyptian, Babylonian in its old Sumerian form, Chinese, Hittite, and Aztec. (Canon Isaac Taylor, *The Alphabet*.) Other ancient scripts, when recovered, have attracted interest, but as they become known each one finds its place in one or other of these systems. Thus, e.g., the researches of Schliemann, whose thrilling rise from a Chicago grocer's clerk to a first-rank scholar and archaeologist captivated the attention of the world, brought the Karian or Cretan script to light. But Karian is now clearly recognized as derived chiefly from the Egyptian. An interesting stele in Egyptian-Karian bi-lingual text was presented to the University of Sidney by Sir Chas. Nicholson. In the text well-known Egyptian forms are used in their alphabetic sense, e.g., (1) * used as a "t", (2) as "p". But other forms are clearly Greek, thus (3) is the Greek "φ," (4) is the Greek "χ," and (5) is "ϒ," "U" or "Y." A. Rowe, in the *R. A. S. Journal*, Jan. 1920, thinks this stele was written by a Greek Karian scribe living in Egypt with the troops of mercenaries.

Without following these by-paths, let us consider the "Big Five" systems of hieroglyphics. No one has yet questioned that Egyptian and the ancestor of the Babylonian-Assyrian cuneiform, —call it Accadian, Sumerian, Old Babylonian, what you will—are self-derived. As to the Chinese, Ball has proved consanguinity

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*The bracketed figures refer to the plate (p. 137).

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with Sumerian, yet both are recognized as independent systems. Our problem at this time is with the other two, Hittite and Aztec.

Sayce, taking his cue from Prof. Jensen, in successive articles from 1903 down to 1915 laid the basis for the interpretation of the Hittite. Just before the world war valuable material was unearthed by a German exploring party at Boghaz Keui, the later capital of the Hittite Empire, and Delitsch translated some of the texts. During the war, Friedrich Hrozny, Professor of Semitic Languages at the University of Vienna, working on advance sheets of the report by this party, brought out, first an elaborate grammar, and later translations of some of the more important texts. Hrozny's work has been enthusiastically welcomed by some, e.g., by S. J. Crawford, Professor of English Philology in Madras Christian College (*R. A. S. Journal*, Jan. 1919). Sayce finds some weak points in Hrozny's armour (*R. A. S. Journal*, Jan. 1920), but appreciates much of his work.

The chief point of difference between Sayce and Hrozny is one which in itself solves our problem for us. The latter considers Hittite as Indo-European, or perhaps Indo-Germanic. He thinks he finds the present participle, declension with six cases, and sundry words of Indo-European stock. Sayce challenges him on many points, and maintains his original proposition, that Hittite is a composite of Egyptian, Sumerian, and other ingredients. The Indo-European element he fully recognizes but attributes it to Karian influence. On either view of the Hittite we may safely conclude that the text on which they have been working is not an independent, self-derived system.

Prof. Campbell calls attention to the fact that there remains yet another Hittite script, different from these texts, which no one has been able to decipher. This may have secrets to unfold some day, but can hardly change the philological position of the Hittite.

For the present we shall find Hittite useful as a sidelight on Egyptian, Sumerian and Chinese. We find it takes the Egyptian-Chinese form for "mountain" rather than the Sumerian. (See *New China Review*, Feb. 1920). But "knife" takes the Sumerian form (15) rather than the Egyptian (16). The Hittite "sun" also follows the Egyptian-Chinese form in preference to the Sumerian, inserting a dot in the circle. Not only so, but Sayce notes that it is largely used for the "sun-god," which gives an interesting suggestion as to the origin of that dot. So also as we note the Hittite radical, or determinative, if we prefer the Egyptologist's terminology, for divinity, written thus (6), we see where our Chinese 神 got its origin. (*N.B.*—While

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not one of the radicals it was used as one. See Chalfant, *Early Chinese Writing*, No. 352.) The Hittite term was a pictogram of the Stone used for worship, tied around the middle. Compare, e.g., the Black Stone of Mecca, and similar customs elsewhere.

Coming now to Aztec, later students have brought to the front Maya, an older and kindred dialect, an aunt, as it were, of the Aztec, which takes precedence of it. Maya-Aztec civilization has been studied from many points of view. Kinship has been claimed for them with Egypt, Carthage, Java, South India, and the lost continent Atlantis. Lord Kingsborough in nine volumes attempts to identify the Aztecs with the ten Lost Tribes of Israel. Le Plongeon went one better than them all, showing, as he thought, that Egypt was peopled from Yucatan.

These studies may be not without some basis in fact. For that all human races are from a common stock is traditional belief. It is anticipated by many that a firmer line of proof will be found by taking an Oriental point of departure. Humboldt in his *Vues des Cordillères* attempts to show that Mexican civilization was of Asiatic origin. For example he notes the custom prevailing both in Mexico and among the Mongolian races of formulating year cycles by combining two systems of notation. The Chinese cycle of sixty years is found by running together the list of animal symbols of the zodiac, viz., *rat*, *ox*, *tiger*, *hare*, *dragon*, etc., with the ten celestial stems based on the five elements, *wood*, *fire*, *earth*, *metal*, *water*. The Aztec fifty-two year cycle was formed by combining four of the day symbols : *reed*, *rabbit*, *house*, *flint*, with numerals up to thirteen. Both Chinese and the Maya-Aztec races had simpler calendar records, and these cycles were chiefly for astrological purposes.

Relationship of the Maya-Aztec with other races has also been sought along philological lines. Thus, *e.g.*, T. S. Denison, of Chicago, starting out with the idea maintained by Max Müller, William Dwight Whitney, A. H. Keane, and others, that he was working on a self-originated language, after some years of study, came to the conclusion that Aztec was of Aryan stock. (See his *Primitive Aryans of America.*) He thought he saw identity in word roots and in grammatical forms. But his work is based entirely on phonetic values. Tracing relationship between a Sanskrit "go," an Anglo-Saxon "cow," and an Aztec "qua-qua-e" (pronounced ka-ka-way), or between a Sanskrit "cvan" (c = k), a Greek Κύων, a Latin "canis," an English "hound," and an Aztec "Itzcuintli," from a supposed "kun" root, involves considerable imagination, and is difficult to substantiate. There may be something in the inflectional systems he brings out, but relationship can hardly be considered proven.

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As to the Mayan and Aztec hieroglyphs, to find any relationship with the other systems is a far cry. The structure and style of these systems is unique. In the Maya especially grotesque human faces leer out from every part of the writing. The Mayan glyphs, to adopt the lingo of Mayan scholars, instead of being placed in line, whether horizontally or vertically, or even grouped, as sometimes with the Egyptian, are presented in a compact block form. For examples see (7) (8). Maya writing was not intended for popular use, but was a cryptic system of the priest-class. (*Report of Smithsonian Institute*, 1903). It was based on a system of chronology supposed to have come down from a starting point five million years in the past,—may be even sixty-four millions. Such a chronology cannot be historical in origin. Mayan history seems to have emerged from savagery, or at least from obscurity, about 100 B.C. Granting them a considerable antiquity, we need hardly accept as historical a scheme which would not only contradict the ancient records of other lands, but would put Mayan ancestors in the Glacial Age.

Their chronology may be mere mythology—it was the priest-class which recorded it. Or we may understand it as based on astronomical calculations, for their scribes seem to have been wonderful astronomers (See Morley, *The Inscriptions of Copan*, p. 35, etc.) Nevertheless their hieroglyphs are characteristically and distinctively filled with this chronology. Their calendar was based on the day unit, with months, years, "katuns," cycles, and great cycles, all based on their anomalous vigesimal system of notation. This system differs radically from all other systems of calculation. Instead of reading units, tens, hundreds, it reads units, twenties, 360s, 7,800s, 144,000s, and 2,880,000s, each step being multiplied by twenty except the second which was multiplied by eighteen. What a multiplication table those Mayan boys must have had! The position of a number indicated whether it was a unit, a twenty, or what, the higher position being, not horizontally to the left, but one line above the lower. (See *Report Smithsonian Institute* 1903).

As to the numerical symbols, Egyptian, Sumerian, Hittite, and Chinese all used bars, whether perpendicular or horizontal. Hopkins has shown (*R. A. S. Journal*, April, 1916) that in Chinese this probably arose from the use of tally sticks or counters. Hence one bar represented one tally, and when they came to a five or a ten, they crossed two tally sticks, thus making the 五 character in its old form (9) and the ten character (十). But the Maya used a dot for a unit, and represented fives by bars. Thus nine

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was (10) and thirteen was (11). Higher numbers were indicated by position, as we have noticed above.

The Maya writing, so far as deciphered, is limited to calendaric glyphs (See Morley, *The Inscriptions of Copan*, p. 36). No historical records have been discovered. There were such, but the Spanish Jesuits destroyed them because they were "full of superstition and lies of the Devil," as one of them wrote. (Morley p. 44).

The kindred Aztec has historical records. Their writing is largely pictorial. Thus take this form (12). (Morley, *Inscriptions, etc.*, p. 37). On the left is a human body wrapped in cloths, representing a death, and the water animal on the head gives the dead man's name, Ahuitzotl. On the right is a man crowned, and the spare crown attached gives his name, Moctezuma II.

Both in Maya and in Aztec certain pictograms had acquired definite, symbolic significance. In the figure above, the rabbit head *tochtli*, was the recognized name for one day of the month: and according to custom the year took its name from the first day. The ten dots indicate the numeral ten, and this referred to the Aztec fifty-two year cycle. Thus we have here in plain language, so to speak, the statement that on the tenth year Tochtli the ruler Ahuitzotl died and was succeeded by Moctezuma II.

Again take the pictogram (13). (Morley, *Inscriptions at Copan*, p. 40). In the upper square is the fixed symbol of the year Acatl, which was the eleventh of the cycle. The H-shaped figure was the Aztec ball court, and stood as the symbol of the city Tlachquiaco. The picture shows the snow falling from a bank of clouds, and water standing in the court. The water symbol, (14) so different from our Chinese hieroglyph, was seen also on the water animal above. Here we have the record of a fall of snow at that city in the eleventh year Acatl.

The Mayan day symbol is interesting as showing a different conception from that used in the Egyptian, Sumerian, Hittite, Chinese scripts. It was five concentric circles, (17) irregularly drawn.

Some hold that in the Aztec and Maya scripts the symbols not only acquired a definite significance, but also were used phonetically to spell out words. So, e.g., says the author of the article on Mexico in the *Encyclopedia Britannica*, eleventh edition, and for authority he quotes Aubin's introduction to Brasseur's *History of Mexico*. But Cyrus Thomas, in the *Smithsonian Report* 1903, and Morley also, think this is not yet proven.

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In view of the manifest differentials of the Maya-Aztec systems we may safely conclude that they are not derived from either of the other original hieroglyphic scripts. They seem to have been evolved *de novo*, it may be at a comparatively late date. As these are developed systems, there may have been, must have been, earlier unformulated symbols of communication, hieroglyphs from which these hieroglyphs were developed. The knotted cord and notched stick era, known in the history of the other scripts, may yet be discovered in America. Indeed the twisted rope or twisted silk character, known in Egyptian and Chinese hieroglyphs (18), has a counterpart in the Maya, but in a somewhat divergent form (19). As yet there is, however, nothing in the recovered scripts on which to base relationship with the Old World

We may now conclude that the original systems of hieroglyphs were four, not five, as Taylor thought. Comparative philology is based on this classification.

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(1)

(2)

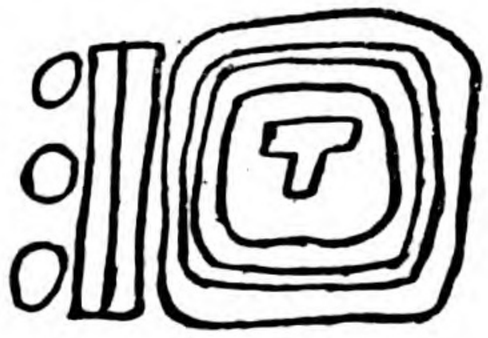
(3)

(4)

(5)

(6)

(7)

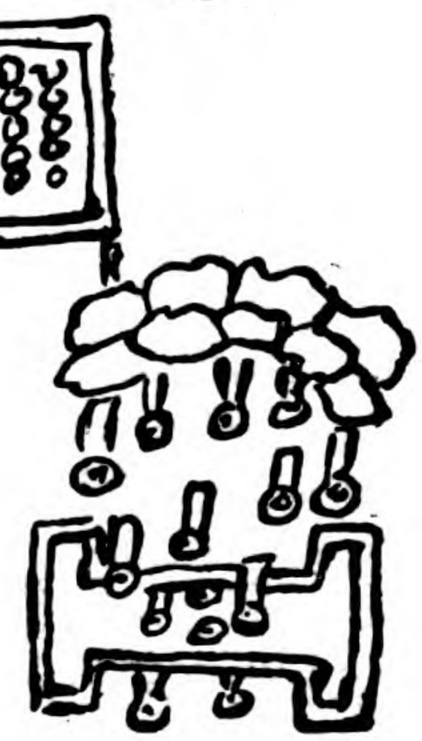
(8) 

(9)

(10)

(11)

(12)

(13) 

(14)

(15)

(16)

(17)

(18)

(19)

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GREGORY LOPEZ, BISHOP

(An Apology)

Most humble apology is due to the Editor and readers of the *New China Review* from me for having printed the life of Gregory Lopez (in Vol. I, pp. 480-487) from the *Scriptores Ordinis Praedicatorum* before I had seen or heard of the short but really more detailed notice of him in *La Hiérarchie Catholique* (Var. Sin. No. 38), 1914, by J. de Moidrey, S.J., pp. 22-25. A friend has very kindly drawn my attention to this interesting work, and I hasten to ask those who may be interested in the subject to note the following additions and corrections :—

Lopez's native names were 羅文藻, 我存. Lo Wên-tsao, O-ts'un ; not much like Huc's A-lou, but strangely like the famous Leo Li (李之藻, 我存). He was born about the year 1610, and was baptized at the age of 16. It was in 1639 that he went with the Franciscans to Macao and Manila. He entered the Dominican Order at his birth-place, Fu-an, and was ordained priest at Manila in 1656. The years of persecution when he was left alone in charge of the missions were 1665 to 1671. M. Moidrey says that the title of his bishopric should be Basilinopolis. The news of his appointment did not reach him until 1677, so that my note on p. 482 is without point ; and it is rather implied that his refusal was a matter of form. The Pope's second letter of 1679 reached Manila in 1681, and thither Lopez went for consecration in March 1683. It was not he that refused to have an Assessor, but "the Province" that, owing to his attitude on the Rites question, refused to appoint one. There is some reason to think that at this time Lopez had left his Order. At any rate it was by a Franciscan Bishop, della Chiesa, who had only reached China with J. F. a Leonisse on August 27 (or 28), 1684, that he was consecrated at Canton on April 8, 1685. He is found at 無錫 Wu-hsi and Ch'ung-ming 崇明 in 1686, and

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at Nanking and in Shantung in 1687. By a letter of March 29, 1688, he was empowered to appoint his successor, and before August 28 he had appointed his Vicar general, Leonissa, explaining very bluntly in a letter written from Hang-chou that he had been careful to choose an Italian as the only possible means of avoiding friction with the Congregation. On August 1, 1688 he ordained three Chinese Jesuits priests. He was himself, M. Moidrey says, the first Chinese priest, Bishop and Dominican, but by no means the first member of any Order, as there were fifteen Chinese Jesuits before 1634. A bull of April 10, 1690, made Lopez Bishop of Nanking, but he never used any title but his old one of Bishop of Basilea and Vicar Apostolic of Nanking. He died at or near Nanking on February 27, 1691 as is said in a letter of Joseph Suarez, S.J., dated at Peking on April 10 and quoting a letter received that day which Leonissa had written on March 4. This letter from Leonissa is perhaps the one quoted at the end of my article (pp. 486-7). Lopez was buried on May 3, 1691, at the 雨花臺 Yü hua t'ai.

M. Moidrey gives his authorities for the above statements in considerable detail, and one is all the more inclined to trust him as he is not afraid to correct himself, pointing out a long list of *Rectifications* at the end of the book; but I am sorry nevertheless to be unable to verify his statements and references for myself.

A. C. MOULE.

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NOTES AND QUERIES

Notes by L. C. Arlington.

Dr. Giles in his *Biog. Dict.* No. 2006, does not mention the fact that Ts'ao Mao invented the seven-character line poetry. V. 習青集.

* * *

The inventor of the four-character line poetry is said to be Wei Mêng (韋孟) who lived in the After Han dynasty. He was a native of 彭城 in Kiangsu. He was a poet and Historiographer; and owing to his offending the Emperor with his remonstrances was banished from court. *Ibid.*

There is nothing mentioned in his biography concerning the invention of the four-character line.

* * *

The reputed inventor of the three-character line poetry is Hsia Hou-chan (夏侯湛). He was famous as a poet and essayist and a bosom friend of P'an Yo (*Biog. Dict.* No. 613). Most of his poems have disappeared, and his name even is only known to the curious in literature; he invented the three-character line to perpetuate his name, but only a few fragments are scattered in various libraries, where they are scarcely disturbed even by the antiquarian. *Ibid.*

* * *

The Manchu Emperors' sacred pearl. There has long been a belief among the Pekingese that the Manchu Emperors had a sacred pearl which was able to ward off dust from the Emperor's body.

All my efforts to trace the origin of the legend were fruitless, until one day scanning the pages of the 閱微草堂 written by

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Chi Yün (*Biog. Dict.* No. 301), I was rewarded by discovering the origin of the pearl; which is as follows:—

A sentry patrolling the precincts of the Ch'ang Ch'un Yüan (暢春園) in Peking one moonless night suddenly noticed something sparkling in the creek; on a closer examination he observed that water was bubbling up at the exact spot where the gleam of light was; and on digging down he found a large oyster, which on being opened was found to contain two pearls joined together in the shape of a gourd. The pearls were presented to the Emperor Kang-hsi who said that they must have been sent from heaven for his special protection, so he wore them as cap-buttons. They are called the Pi ch'ên chu (避塵珠), or "keep dust off pearls." They are said to have been handed down from Emperor to Emperor and are now in the possession of the ex-Emperor Hsüan T'ung.

It may not be amiss to make a few remarks on the above-mentioned work, which may be translated "Metaphysical Researches in a Grass Hut"—taken from the name of the house the author lived in during his exile in Urumtsi, and wherein he wrote the "Researches." The work consists of a collection of short stories of ghosts and goblins, somewhat akin to the *Liao Chai Chih I*, but it cannot compare with the later work for beauty of expression; most of the stories are vulgar, obscene, and exceedingly licentious. How a man, particularly a scion of a wealthy and distinguished family considering himself a "scholar and a gentleman" could so far degrade himself as to leave behind him such a work passes comprehension. Chinese scholars pretend to enjoy it for its exquisite literary style and as a model of word-painting; forgetting altogether its immorality and consequent ill-effects, not only on their own morals, but on those of their offspring. Young China should, like Savonarola, levy contributions for another "Bonfire of Vanities," as most graphically described in the forty-ninth chapter of George Eliot's tale of *Romola*. What a holocaust of cards, dice, face-paints, false hair, licentious books, and all the paraphernalia of frivolity and vice for a Reformed China!

* * *

A term worth noticing is 含滋, e.g., 璣衡建寅萬物含滋 "when the handle of the Plough points to 寅 (in the beginning of spring) all verdure shoots forth from the earth."

* * *

No. 9603 喬夫 in Giles is also "the god of bailiffs." Another character in the Chinese Pantheon is 楊 侯 "god of the waves."

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Giles says nothing about the "classical" pens under either No. 8597 or No. 6348. The Emperor Liang Yüan Ti in 552 A.D. decreed that there must be three grades of pens (筆有三品): the 斑管筆 for use of expert calligraphists; the 金管筆 for the use of loyal and filial men; and the 銀管筆 for use of virtuous men. *V.* 留青集.

* * *

Under No. 12,571, 馬嵬坡 in Shensi, the modern 馬嵬驛 was, according to the 學圃 taken from the name of a man of the Chin (晉) State, who built a (city) wall there to protect his troops from a night attack. Although it is well-known that Yang Kuei-fei died there, the name of Ma-Wei-P'o has nothing to do with her "death" or "hanging."

* * *

No. 12,540 棘聞; according to the *Tso Chuan* in the 13th year of Duke Chao (昭公), the Ch'u 楚 State—modern Hupeh—was called 棘聞.

* * *

The T'ang Emperors followed the practice of the rulers of the 夏, 商, and 周 in bestowing land on officials in lieu of salaries; with this difference: the three dynasties above mentioned called it 圭田 on which the holder had to pay taxes; whereas, in the T'ang it was called 職田 and was exempt from tax. *V.* 隨園隨筆

* * *

The One-Eyed Graduate. During the Sung dynasty a man named 陳若 who held the office of senior Secretary of the Board of Revenue, and was of mediocre ability, succeeded through favouritism in taking second place in the palace examination. He was in consequence nicknamed 瞎榜; defined as the "One-Eyed graduate," hence, a *hsia pang* is one who obtains a diploma for studies through favouritism. *Ibid.*

* * *

The wife of Fan K'uei (*Biog. Dict.* No. 539) whose maiden name was 呂第婆, was created Marquis of Linkuang (臨光侯). *Ibid.*

* * *

No. 5678 孺子 is also applied to a wife and to a concubine. According to the 國策 the marquis of Hsieh had seven favourite concubines 薛侯所寵七孺子妾也; and the 師古註 records that Liu Hsi the marquis of Tung Ch'êng met his death

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at the hands of his wife: 東城侯爲繼子所殺妻也. Another authority, the 杜預註 states that 南繼子 was the wife of Tso-ch'iu Ming (*Biog. Dict.* No. 2024).

* * *

The Third moon is also called 竹月; this term is frequently given in the newspapers, but is not to be found in any dictionary. I cannot discover the origin of the term, but it is probably owing to the fact that the first young bamboo shoots forth from the earth during spring.

* * *

According to the 馬總傳 the 國子監 (Giles' *Dict.* No. 1640) Imperial Academy was established during the reign of the Emperor 大業 of the Sui dynasty in A.D. 605; hence, no 監生 existed before that date.

* * *

Under No. 8588 式 should be prefixed to 貧版 because the census tables were "reverenced" by the Emperor when they were submitted to him. According to the 論語, before paper came into use it was the custom for the census-takers to travel about with a board strapped on the back, on which they recorded the number of the population. It being the practice of the Emperor to make obeisance when receiving the boards, the people when they saw a census-taker coming along, stood "respectfully" aside.

* * *

Republic versus Monarchy. The proportion of civil to military officers to-day under the Republic compares favourably with that in the Ming dynasty. I am of course, alluding to times of peace. China is not at war, yet what do we see? According to the 明史 chap. 劉體乾傳 during the Han dynasty there were only 7,500 military and civil officials all told; during the T'ang the number had increased to 18,000. In the Sung there were 34,000; but in the 5th year of the Ming Emperor 成化 A.D. 1470, there were 80,000 military and only 20,000 civil officers; or 4 military to 1 civil. Unfortunately the proportion of civil to military officers during the Han, T'ang and Sung are not given.

The large proportion of military to civil officers during times of peace however, points a moral for the Republic, and for all those who may be inclined to favour militarism. During the Ming (as now under the Republic), selfish material interests and their class representatives were very strong; popular power was weak; the soldier was the master The Mings were not

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at war when the military predominated, and was probably the cause of their eventual downfall; they were from that fact alone preparing for it. Is the Republic with its predominant military prestige following in the footsteps of the Ming ?

* * *

Ichabod. During the reign of the Sung Emperor 太祖 all those military officers who were superannuated or otherwise disqualified, were relegated to the palace and made to perform menial duties. These were called 剩員 "Surplus burdens." *V.* 通考.

* * *

Chinese place names have been changed so often that it is difficult to keep track of them. For ancient geographical purposes it is best however, to notice them when they are discovered.

Kuangling (廣陵) was the ancient name of Chêkiang and so was Yangchow. Chêkiang was also called 曲江, and so was the ancient name of the modern prefecture 韶州 in Kuangtung. The old name of 長安 was also 曲江 and 陪州. The character 陪 (not in Giles' *Dict.*) means a ladder, sound of 該 and 陪. *V.* 枚乘七發觀書 And the 二世賦 by 司馬相如 According to the 升菴外集 chap. 羅刹江賦 the district of 錢塘 in Chêkiang was also called 曲江.

* * *

The official rank of *T'ung p'an* 通判, dates from the Sung dynasty. The Emperor T'ai Tsu did away with 藩鎮 the generals in charge of the frontiers and created and appointed officers with the rank of 通判 to supersede them. They also had jurisdiction over the 刺史; hence, they had both military and civil rank of a high order. It was only during the Ming dynasty that they were subordinated to a lower rank as at present —i.e., assistant sub-Prefect. The epistolary title *Pieh chia* 別駕, which is synonymous with *T'ung p'an*, originated with the famous poet Su Tung-po who wrote the following to his friend 子由: 杭州別駕無功勞.

* * *

According to the 留青新集 Shih Chou (*Biog. Dict.* No. 1707) invented altogether 540 of the Greater Seal characters.

* * *

A few Chinese Puzzles. (1) 鴻紀 Sacrifice to the goose. In the Chin history, chap 江鄧傳 it is stated that the Emperor ordered an altar to be made for the wild goose so that he could sacrifice to it. What was the reason for this sacrifice ? (2).

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The T'ang history records that in the 2nd year of K'ai Yüan (開 原) the Emperor gave a banquet to an "old retainer" in the 含 元 殿. Who was the "old retainer"? (3). In the Chou shu (周 書) it is stated that there was a "bawling-out-official at Yochou" 大 呼 藥 州 呼 藥 之 官. What is a *hu yao chih kuan*? (4). In the Tung Han history it is stated that the Emperor used the following words: 飛 蓬 隨 風 微 子 所 歎. Who was Wei Tzŭ, and why did he sigh? (5) In the Chin history, chap. 樂 論 occurs the following: 君 子 惡 大 凌 之 歌 北 里 之 舞. The songs of Ta Ling were probably licentious, and the dances at Pei Li took place among the demi-monde. Can any one give an explanation? (6). In the Sui history; chap. 帝 紀 the following is recorded: 形 湯 之 所 文 命. Hsing T'ang would appear to be the name of a place; but what about the rest of the sentence? (7). Connected with the above is: 動 威 雷 門 之 閫. Lei mên would also appear to be the name of a place; but what was the dignified or majestic movement that took place there?

In copies of this issue sent out from the Office a slip has been inserted to notify that further numbers will not be sent unless a definite order for the year is sent in. This will hardly apply to American and European subscribers, but they also should send their orders at once. At the present cost of printing it is desirable to know beforehand how many copies are required; but besides this the *Review* has no wish to be obtrusive and force this year's issue on last year's subscribers. Those who value it will not think the sending of a postcard to order it for the year is too much trouble.

* * *

It is with the deepest regret that we record the death in March of the Rev. W. A. Cornaby. Our readers will share in this regret, recalling the several most interesting papers contributed by Mr. Cornaby to this *Review*, the latest having appeared in our December number last year. His death is a great loss to that diminishing number of missionaries who study and understand China and the Chinese.

* * *

We are sorry to learn that Prof. de Saussure will not be able to send the article promised for the *Review*, on account of a serious breakdown in health.

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RECENT LITERATURE

The Pageant of Peking. Photographs by Donald Mennie and Introduction by Putnam Weale. Shanghai: A. S. Watson & Co., 1920, $35.00

This exquisite book seems quite a gift of the gods. The lovely pictures, the illuminating Introduction, the elegant letter-press and paper, the original and appropriate cover, combine to form a thing of beauty to which one returns again and again. The usual neglected splendour of editions *de luxe* is not possible in this case, for if one possesses a copy one's less fortunate friends will bring *their* friends to see it.

Until recent years there was a great lack for Westerners of precise information about Peking. Before the Revolution such information was mostly unobtainable owing to the apprehensions and misapprehensions with which foreigners as such were regarded by Court and people; but now reliable books on the capital, and pictures of its places of interest are making their appearance.

It is well it should be so; for the Peking of the Manchus is changing before our eyes. Atrocious new erections in supposed foreign style, an insult alike to East and West and clashing painfully with their surroundings, are on the increase; while many of the most beautiful native buildings are more or less decaying. Indeed, with the exception of the Confucian Temple, which piety keeps in good repair, and the Summer Palace (Wan Shou-shan), which is comparatively new, we see with pain that the former glory has vanished, or is vanishing. Nor is this strange: in the present state of exchequer and politics, money cannot sentimentally be expended on old buildings, as such; the spirit of the time also is against the cult of Imperial monuments or the upkeep of Buddhist temples and the like; and in the rigorous North China climate neglect is a speedy precursor of ruin. Again,

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the very site of Peking for a capital is now an anachronism in the view of many Chinese, however convenient in far off days; and if a more central metropolis is chosen, the northern city will suffer further neglect, if not complete eclipse. With these thoughts in mind, therefore, we welcome this delightful book for historical as well as æsthetic reasons. With this in hand future generations will be able to see how Peking looked, for example when the West forced her to receive its messengers, say between 1860—the date of the Treaty of Tientsin—and 1911, the year of the fall of the Manchus.

If these pictures, as pictures, could be improved, it is not this reviewer who could say how; they seem as beautiful as any can be which do not show the marvellous colouring that, after the magnificent distances, is the most obvious charm of Peking. The artist—for such the photographer is—has been specially sensitive to the æsthetic value of the many gateways and noble old trees; and the sympathetic studies of the common people give that touch of nature which makes the whole world kin. It does, however, appear to us a slight defect that the same border should be used both for the black and white and the sepia prints.

It goes without saying that those will most appreciate the book who know Peking best, and also that no two such persons would wish for quite the same selection of views;—from an anthology to a recipe-book, we all want our own favourites included. Therefore for any to say there should have been fewer roads or coolies or temples, and more of something else, is only an *obiter dictum*; yet we wish it had been possible to include something of the Ming Tombs in addition to the five-arched *p'ai lou*, and that something of the Manchu mausolea might have been shown, the more so as these are difficult of access.

As to the Introduction, the writer has wisely written for the average person, and in a rapid sketch has given the outline of Peking's history from the earliest time; strangely enough he stops short with Ch'ien Lung and then goes on to the general aspect of the city and neighbourhood to-day.

It is well for us of the West, who only know China in her weakness to have recalled to us her ancient glories under the Mongols, and the Mings and the earlier Manchus. Under which was Peking most glorious, we wonder. Under Kubilai Khan or Yang Lo or Ch'ien Lung? Each has his strong claims.

The world, it is true, mostly thinks of Mongols as destroyers, not as builders, and still less as beautifiers. Did not Chenghiz Khan—Kubilai's own grandfather—traverse half Asia with fire and sword? Did he not raze city after city to the ground, not

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from mere vandalism, but from a stern belief that they were hotbeds of luxury, effeminacy and vice, cumbering what ought to have been grazing ground for decent nomad folk? Did he not utterly destroy Chung Tu, on this very site of Peking when he conquered the Golden Horde? The Mongols were rough men of the wilds, ill at ease within walls, and Kubilai Khan himself laid out his new city of Khanbalig like a mighty camp, with great roads for his men, and wide spaces for his horses and camels. Indeed, were it not for the unimpeachable witness of Marco Polo, one might well hesitate to believe in the glories of the great Khan's capital; that testimony, however, is final. It was natural that a native of Venice should have been struck with the vast scale of Khanbalig, a city twenty-four miles in circuit, for in no place on earth was space more precious than in "the glorious city in the sea"; but that one who had been accustomed to hear mass in St. Mark's, and to view the Doge's Palace, and the "Wedding of the Adriatic" in the palmiest days of Venice, and who had withal travelled through many lands—that such a man can find no fitting words to praise Khanbalig, is proof positive that its splendours were real and regal indeed. To it, in fact, half Asia brought tribute, and all the arts and crafts of China and the spoils of the Southern Sungs were at the Great Khan's command.

But Peking, perhaps, was still more glorious under Yung Lo. This great Ming monarch to whom the name of "Peking" is due, working on the noble ground-plan and foundations of Kubilai made his "northern capital" lovely with the landscape gardening and winding canals and picturesque bridges of his early home in Mid-China; and there are many who will think that there must have been more refinement of ideas and workmanship and less merely barbaric splendour under the purely Chinese dynasty than under the Yüans.

Or shall we say, as this book says, that Peking was most glorious under the sway of Kang Hsi and Ch'ien Lung? With Mongolia re-united to the Empire, and Manchuria and Tibet added; with the tribute not only from Siam and Annam, but from Burma and Nepaul brought more regularly than ever before—countries with exquisite arts of their own to add to those of the Chinese; with an encouragement given to literature and art such as the Mongols did not dream of and Yung Lo could not rival; this was perhaps the acme of the city's greatness. Alas! none of the three was considerate enough to leave us a Pageant of the Peking they made and enjoyed, so we shall never know.

A closer acquaintance with the Pageant of *our* Peking, has revealed several minor errors. The Lama Temple is in every case

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misspelt the Llama Temple; whereas a llama is, of course, a Peruvian quadruped. Again, the "Ocean Terrace" is *Ying T'ai*, not *Ying Tai*; and the *Tan Chueh Ssu* (sic) is surely the *Ta Chueh Ssŭ* (大覺寺). In this connection we would protest against the increasing use of *ssu* for Wade's *ssŭ*. The sound intended is very simple, and adequately represented in French by the reflexive "se"; and it is, of course, the last syllable in such names as Llassa or Vanessa. *Ssŭ* is a useful symbol for it, but the diacritic mark is necessary to show the *u* is to be taken in "a Pickwickian sense."

The one serious criticism of the book we have to offer is its lack of cohesion. What order, if any, has been observed as to the pictures we have not discovered. For example, three of the most exquisite of them, those of the Pi Yün Ssŭ, are in three different places. Moreover, the monograph, though valuable, has practically no direct connection with the pictures.

We are ashamed to ask for more where so much has been given, but we venture to wish that a groundplan of Peking had been provided showing where the places depicted are; and that to some at least of the pictures a few words of explanation had been added. It is always difficult to know how much knowledge may be taken for granted in one's readers; but we think most people's ignorance of things Chinese is pretty thorough. Many copies of this book have gone to Europe, to benighted folk who think a "temple" or a "palace" ought to be one large pile, and do not dream that in China either of these words means a number of buildings around various courtyards, generally one behind another, which it is impossible to photograph except piecemeal, e.g., the Lama Temple has seven of these courts, of which the pictures No. XLIII and XII show us only portions.

Again, for those who do not know something of China how much more thrilling are the pictures XLV and LV when we learn they represent in part that exquisite, unhappy island to which the emperor was sent after the *coup d'état* in 1898—and where at last, after many tribulations, his soul passed to peace. And how interesting to be told that the wonderfully carved but un-Chinese-looking archway at Chü Yung Kuan (No. XIV) is in the Nank'ou Pass (of all places!) and bears those inscriptions in six languages some of which have so puzzled the archeologists.

Even to learn that Pi Yün Ssŭ means the "Temple of the Azure Cloud" is helpful; and how is any one to know what such names as Chü Yung Kuan mean when there is neither translation nor character?

Perhaps in the second edition, which we expect will be quickly called for, some of these favours may be granted. We are sure

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they would make the book more interesting and instructive; more beautiful it cannot be.

Messrs. Kelly & Walsh are responsible for the printing, etc., and they have never done better work, nor has any other firm in the Far East.

The History of Shanghai. By G. Lanning—S. Couling. Vol. I. Printed and published for the Shanghai Municipal Council by Kelly & Walsh, Ltd. 1921. ($7.50).

This work has been long looked for and the appearance of the first volume will be very welcome to all who are interested in the Settlement. Mr. Lanning was one of our most useful and respected fellow-townsmen, and his sudden death when this volume at which he had laboured so long was near completion was a thing to touch the heart of the community.

At the same time a book must be reviewed on its merits, and we shall notice some faults in this posthumous work with the same frankness that we should have used had the author been alive.

The History proper does not begin till page 256—more than half-way through the volume. The previous 28 chapters are concerned with various introductory matter, beginning with the question "Whence come the Chinese people?" and concluding with an essay on extraterritoriality. We cannot think the history of the foreign Settlements required so long and wide an introduction. But Mr. Lanning seems to have regarded himself not as a mere compiler but as an historian in the wider sense, a philosophical interpreter of events and of civilizations. Now it is not unkind to say that he was not fitted for this part either by natural gifts or by prolonged and strenuous study. His reading does not seem to have been wide, though quotations from many works are given, and the references show that he depended more on primers, epitomes and encyclopædias than on great original works. It is not apparent that he ever read, for example, Marco Polo or De Groot; and the kind of book he did read and absorb was the flashy and famous but now much discredited *History of Civilization* by Buckle. The result is that whenever he is not narrating facts we are annoyed by amateurish philosophy and superficial judgements.

As a mere example of the plane on which he read and thought, the work refers to the late Dr. Richard as "one of our greatest authorities on China and the Chinese," and speaks of the Christian "antagonism to science which Dr. Richard so rightly regrets." Now Dr. Richard will hardly be claimed by his most affectionate admirers—of whom he has so many—as a great authority on China;

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and in the great conflict between science and faith his regrets hardly deserve to be singled out for mention above those of a thousand more important thinkers.

Throughout the introduction there is a strong but not very intelligent animus against dogmatic Christianity; which seems surely uncalled for and out of place in a History of Shanghai. The language used is severe. "The double despot of Church and State" is spoken of as the "first of all evils in the West" (p. 4). "Clerical trickery," "the fetters of faith," "the poison of priestcraft," are other strong phrases. As to the Bible, we read of "its possible infinity of good" and "its actual infinity of evil;"—"the world's greatest blessing and mankind's greatest curse;" and China is happy in having had no Bible. Intelligent men, we are told, agree on two statements; "there never was a fall of man" and "there never was a miracle." We are puzzled to know what place all these prejudiced pronouncements and all this shallow rhetoric can have in a history of the Settlement, for certainly the community here has never been torn by religious controversy nor, indeed, has it ever been much exercised over religious matters.

But apart from the irrelevance we have another objection to the intrusion of such discussions. There is a coarse proverb, "It's a dirty bird that fouls its own nest." Many Chinese will read the book; is it wise to expose the fact that" three-fourths of European people in these days never see the inside of a place of worship" except at a wedding, etc.; to tickle their sense of superiority by declaring dogmatic Christianity a failure (p. 43) while Confucianism "turns to truth as a sunflower to the sun" (p. 41); by dwelling most unfairly on the fact of religious persecution? The writer says "If she [China] has seen an *auto-da-fé* now and then, it has been political rather than religious:" and it is a very characteristic sentence, for *auto-da-fé* is not the term for a political holocaust, while the "if" and the "now and then" sound sadly satirical to those who have read of the fearful slaughter of prisoners in earlier Chinese history or can remember the fate of the Manchu garrisons only ten years ago. "No Holy Inquisition has ever stained her soil with the blood of her best and bravest"—but none the less it has been constantly done by other agencies. Our author himself in a somewhat patronising paragraph about missionaries (p. 34) says some "have suffered the pains, torments and trials of Fox's *Book of Martyrs* . . . for China has added her full quota to the 'noble army' and so must take her stand in that respect with Spain, England and the rest." And apart from Christian martyrs there has been far more of religious persecution in China than the author has been willing to fairly admit.

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The right position seems to be to admit and deplore that Church history is full of policies, events and teachings which are unchristian ; but to recall that it is "by their fruits ye shall know them ; that Western civilization with its strong Christian element is superior to Confucian with all its admirable possibilities, is a fact we must hold to. When we look at the poverty and ignorance of the masses in China, the position of woman, the corruption of officialdom and the weakness of the country, we say Christian civilization with all its drawbacks has done better than this for mankind. We may have much to learn from the East but we have far more to teach.

It is not only in the question of religion that the writer "gives the show away," if we may for once use that vulgar expression. We have often enough been irritated by thoughtless talkers who answered every criticism on Chinese backwardness by saying we were just as bad a century or a millenium ago. But here we have the argument elaborated in print and worked to death. Not only were our roads no better than Chinese a certain time back, and education and sanitation ; but even "anti-foreign feeling was every whit as pronounced in English history as in Chinese. "Drugs were in constant use and opium was almost as common as alcohol." The writer takes much pains and space to prove that bribery and corruption in England were once as bad as now in China ; and it is the same with respect to our prisons, our system of punishments, torture, etc., etc.

The reply to all this is that Europe has advanced beyond that stage, and without outside help has always striven for progress. Japan too, seeing the civilization of the West, has adopted much of it, made progress and become strong. Whereas China, in spite of the help she might so easily get, in spite of the example set her by her neighbour, in spite of the boasted age-old civilization on which she might have built, remains as weak and corrupt as ever.

Of course the author now and then trims and speaks of China as it really is; but throughout there is a desire to minimise all that is evil and to compromise on every point where plain speaking might offend.

The reason of this attitude is that the writer thinks it necessary to waste several chapters in proving that the Chinese are of the same flesh and blood as the rest of mankind. We are easily convinced of this without the point being so laboured : it is the Chinese who are loth to admit it. Various similar customs, in China and England, are compared. "Resemblances religious,

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political and linguistic" are given in detail. "There are others in law," which are given us in more detail.

But the most remarkable and the most unfortunate chapter in the book is Ch. VI, on "The Evidence of Language." We do not go to a History of Shanghai to learn Grimm's Law; and all the general philology in the chapter is of the most elementary order. But Mr. Lanning was struck with the resemblance in sound between many Chinese and English words; he made a collection of some 300 examples and they somehow got printed in the Journal of our local Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society. Resemblances there are of course; but whether they are accidental or show an original unity of speech is a question which only a trained philologist can profitably discuss. It requires a knowledge of Chinese, which Mr. Lanning disclaimed; further, knowledge of Chinese dialects and of the history of the changes in the language; and a wide if not deep acquintance with both Indo-European and other groups of tongues. Dr. Edkins perhaps did some harm to philological studies by methods that seemed wild; but he was a real student; Mr. Lanning's attempts will, we fear, provoke some ridicule. We are asked to believe for instance, that the O in the ancient Oceanus *may* be connected with 河 *ho*, a stream; and because sincerity is a matter of the heart, it is associated with the Chinese *hsin* 心 the heart. Why "sincerity" should be chosen we do not know, for "sin" is also a matter of the heart! We will not quote more, but only express regret that such puerile attempts at science should be found in such a work as this.

We cannot but call attention to the "might-have-beens" which are so tempting to many a historian. What would have been the state of the world if Napoleon had conquered at Waterloo; or if Columbus had died and been thrown overboard on his voyage west? And so on might be asked *ad libitum*. But our author goes too far when he asserts that it has been well for Europe that China was a long way off, because otherwise our persecuted Brunos, Galileos, Huxleys, Spencers and Darwins might have taken refuge within her borders; might have "endowed her capable sons with that scientific insight which was so lacking in China;" then "where would the West have been today?" We can only imagine with amusement the stalwart Huxley bolting from the horrid persecutions of Gladstone to find peace in Peking; or Darwin with a Chinese teacher trying to get enough Chinese to impart scientific insight to the natives. As the writer wisely concludes, "It is impossible to say what might or might not have happened." Yet he might have recalled the experiences of Ricci, Schall and Verbiest.

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Another point which we find more amusing than convincing is that we are apparently scolded for being so late on the scene compared with the Chinese. After mentioning the (mythical) origin of marriage in B.C. 2852 it is solemnly said "We wonder what and where our ancestors were at that early date." The expression on p. 60, "the lagging West," does not mean that we do not move quickly, but that we came late. Confucianism "calls for right doing for right's sake, thus antedating Tennyson by more than two milleniums ;" as though the Western world waited for Alfred Tennyson to teach this morality, and as though we did not learn it till 2,000 years later than the Chinese ! It is not by absolute dates of chronology that nations must be judged but by relative. It matters little whether a man is born in the eighteenth century or the nineteenth ; but if at sixty years of age he is no wiser than a later born youth of twenty he stands condemned : and so with nations.

There are various other matters we should like to discuss, as, for instance the statement that "most of the *fear* which formerly attached itself to ancestral worship has now disappeared ;" but we have said enough to show that the preliminary part of the volume contains much that is interesting even if it is but shallow, adding nothing to our previous knowledge, and even if it is quite out of place in an official account of the Settlement of Shanghai.

As to the second half of the work, when the author gets to his legitimate task we are happy to be able to praise it. It is full of the most interesting information, and as the author or compiler had access to all the necessary documents it may all be regarded as correct, while at the same time the official narrative is made lively by more intimate additions from many sources. The volume brings the history down to about 1857 ; there can be very few still alive who remember those early years in Shanghai, and still fewer who are resident here. Mr. E. Jenner Hogg died while the book was in the press, and we do not know who succeeds him as oldest resident. But all later comers must enjoy reading about the rise of the Settlement in which they now find so much to criticize : let them learn how hardly their privileges have been acquired; with what difficulties their predecessors had to strive ; and thankfulness will be increased and pride in our present Model Settlement. Especially in Britons will this pride be felt, since to their hard work are due nearly all the advantages which are enjoyed to-day by all alike.

That a more careful reading will discover errors and faults in the historical part of the work is probable ; but we hope the continuation will be as satisfactory as the account of the Settle-

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ment's first two decades. We can do without amateur philosophy but we shall enjoy exact and readable history such as Mr. Lanning has given in the second half of the book.

We are bound to point out some short-comings in the volume apart from the text. Why in the text is no indication given by star or figure of the passages which are annotated? It would be a great improvement too if the chapter heading appeared at the top of each page instead of 900 repetitions of "The History of Shanghai." But these blemishes, with the too numerous misprints, are trifles which do not weigh against the value of the work. It must not be omitted to be mentioned that there are some capital illustrations, of extreme interest.

Israel's Messenger, February issue.

This bi-monthly continues its regular course. The present number gives a report of the dedication of the new synagogue by Rabbi Hirsch, and it has a good deal of interesting and instructive matter, both local and gathered from the whole Jewish world.

M.A.B. Fisher Unwin, London. 1/- per ann.

This is received regularly and is always welcome though it seldom has anything of special value to students of Chinese. It is 'mainly about books,' and for those who wish to know about new literature its London Letter is admirable.

Note on the review of "Fragments of Confucian Lore," in *The New China Review*, December, 1920, pp. 600-1.

The reviewer is of the band of those who find that on the whole Confucius does not repay study; his wisdom is on a level with that of Martin Tupper, though he is an interesting figure as the prophet of so great a people. As one who is constantly engaged, with both pleasure and profit, in re-reading the Four Books, I venture to put in a mild protest. The unhappy 10th book of the Analects is referred to,—this is sure to be the chief piece of evidence whenever anyone wants to enforce the doctrine that the Sage is stale, flat and unprofitable. I remember many years ago hearing a scornful reference to the platitudes of this book by Dr. Smythe at a meeting of the Ningpo Missionary Association; that was my introduction to this particular heresy. The same indictment appears in Soothill's "A Mission in China"; later Mr. Soothill made ample amends in the preface to his translation of the Analects, where he speaks of "this fine old Classic," and calls Confucius

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"China's greatest gentleman, whose company I have found edifying to the character." The keenest scorn of all, perhaps, is found in Bret Harte's famous skit, quoted by Giles in his Glossary of Reference. What causes doubts of the value of the Sage? The reviewer thinks it cannot be loss in translation, for we read the Bible in translation, and Plato as well, and are uplifted thereby. And yet it may well be that the latter two works are so far superior to Confucius, or to his reporters, that translation still leaves enough to enthuse us in the one case without doing it in the other. (Cf. De Quincey. "The great ideas of the Bible protect themselves. The heavenly truths, by their own imperishableness, defeat the mortality of languages with which for a moment they are associated.") Certainly Confucius loses more by translation into English than do the Bible and Plato. Moreover our translations of the Bible are the result of centuries of scholarly and literary effort. The good has been selected and increased, the evil has been purged away; and the work, done under the impetus of a mighty religious inspiration, had a force behind it that was bound to find its way into the result. As for Plato, he has been translated by men of literary power, whose imaginations were kindled by his ideas, and who were impelled to put him into an English dress that would arrest and inspire men whether they would or no. Take the number of men who were of the first grade both as linguists and as exponents of literary taste and power, who have been at work on Greek translation; take at the same time the body of our inheritance of some centuries of classical studies, which is at the service of the translator of Plato; and then compare the modest hand of scholars devoted to sinology and the inheritance we have from them, dealing as they were with a culture much farther from us than was ever that of Greece. After having done so, one has some understanding of the reason why the Analects are not as worth reading in English as are the Bible and Plato. Dr. Legge's translation filled the righteous soul of Mr. Ku Hung-ming with anguish, and he attempted a translation of his own; but the scholar shrugs his shoulders over the result, which is not always happy, even on the literary side. Finally, we may emphasize what was suggested above,—that even when other things are equal, Confucius loses more in translation than do the Bible and Plato. We should compare the best of the one with the best of the other; granted some platitudes and dreary stretches in Confucius; yet the other works are not all on a high literary level. Because of the difference in the genius of the two languages, the English cannot possibly convey the wealth of meaning that is suggested

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by the Chinese, especially when beside the sententiousness of Confucius we follow the pellucid stream of Chu-hsi. What appears vapid crass platitude in English, or mere eccentricity of thought, often makes a very different impression in Chinese. Some may say that if the ideas were great, they would be attractive in any style ; but this I cannot agree to be a just judgment.

HARRISON K. WRIGHT.

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